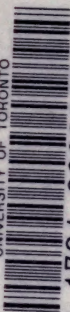


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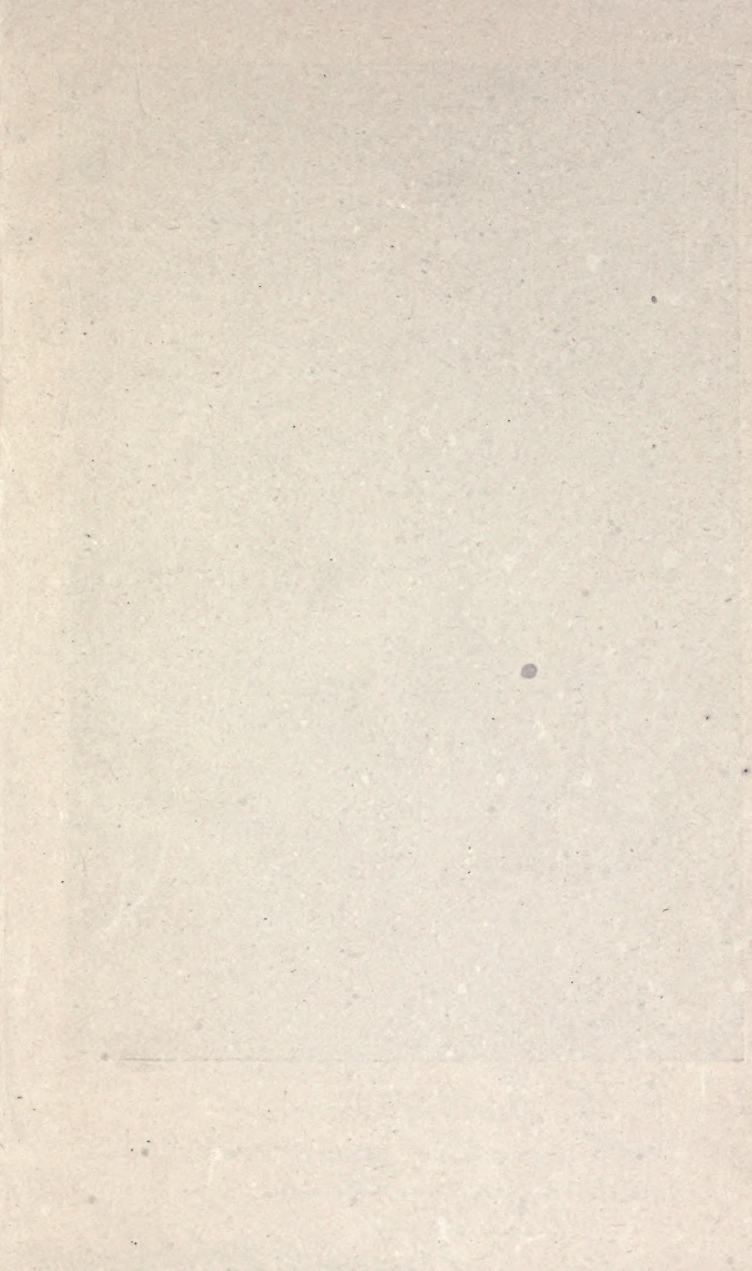
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To F. E. Schortemeier
With cordial good wishes
and high esteem.
Very Truly
Warren G. Harding

REDEDICATING AMERICA

Life and Recent Speeches of

WARREN G. HARDING

By

FREDERICK E. SCHORTEMEIER

Formerly Private Secretary to United States

Senator Harry S. New; now Secretary

Indiana Republican State

Committee

WITH FOREWORD BY WILL H. HAYS

Republican National Chairman

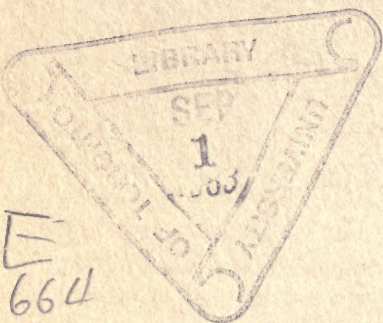


INDIANAPOLIS

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PUBLISHERS

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Printed in the United States of America

PRESS OF
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BOOK MANUFACTURERS
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

FOREWORD

SENATOR HARDING possesses just those vital qualities of mind and heart necessary to-day and in the time just ahead. His poise of mind, his soundness of judgment, his hold on fundamentals, his appreciation of the needs of to-day and of to-morrow, his love of the people from whom he came and of whom he is one, and his faith in them; his magnificent grasp of large affairs, his great native ability and his training in statesmanship, his regard for the opinion of others, his experience and success in the handling of men, his proper appreciation of his country's position as a responsible factor in the world's future, but with the fullest realization of the absolute importance of our own supreme nationalism, his sterling Americanism, his righteous character and manhood, and withal his thorough humanness, all qualify him in the most exceptional degree for the tremendous responsibilities which will soon be his. He will make a splendid candidate and a great president. The country will love him, honor him, trust him and follow him, just as all who know him love and trust him, and the world will honor him.

WILL H. HAYS.

AUGUST 1, 1920



CONTENTS

CHAPTER

PAGE

I	WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING	11
II	SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE. Address at Formal Notification of His Nomination for the Presidency, at Marion, Ohio, July 22, 1920	34
	Constitution Charts the Way—Popular Government to Be Restored—Republican Senators Saved America—Will Preserve American Independence—To Restore Formal Peace—Independent Aid to World Justice—To Restore Constitution Must Encourage Competition—Increased Production Great Need—Industrial Cooperation Urged—Classism Decried—Deliberate Readjustment Sought—The Railroad Problem—Highway Development Advocated—Deflation of Finance—Thrift and Economy Essential—Agricultural Cooperation Urged—Irrigation and Reclamation—Specific Proposals—Importance of Law Enforcement—Tribute to World War Veterans—Woman Suffrage—Confidence in America.	
III	SAFEGUARDING AMERICA. Address on the League of Nations in the United States Senate, September 11, 1919	62
	Nationality Is Paramount—Involvements of League—America Essential Factor in War—Secret Bartering Unheeded—America's Interests Ignored—Nothing Substantial Offered—Supergovernment Created—Disarmament Not Accomplished—Arbitration Not Assured—Article Ten Mere Phantom—Fought for American Rights—Many Peoples Not Heard—Avenue to Unending War—To Preserve Americanism—Why America Entered War—Proclamation of Neutrality Recalled—Forced to Declare War—Our Task Completed—Not Committed to League—Autocracy of Peace—Nationality Sacrificed—American Conscience Fixes Obligation—Respect for American	

CONTENTS—Continued

CHAPTER

PAGE

Rights—Significance of Nationalism—American Safety at Stake—Patriots Save America—Reservations Are Essential—Righteousness Is Goal—Must Preserve Inheritance—Must Save Soul of America.

- IV **AMERICANISM.** Address Delivered before the Ohio Society of New York, at the Waldorf Hotel, New York City, January 10, 1920 . . . 103
- Birth of Americanism—Constitution Is Sacred—Duty of Citizenship—Must Practise Americanism—Devotion to Duty—Back to Normal—Supremacy of Law—Civil Liberty at Stake—Honest Living Is Solution—Must Preserve Nationalism—America First.
- V **THEODORE ROOSEVELT.** Ohio Legislative Memorial Address before a Joint Convention of the Eighty-third General Assembly, January 29, 1919 . . . 115
- Eminent American—Exalted by Americanism—Sought Foreign Service—Extraordinary Manhood—Man of Action—Awakened National Conscience—Made America Better.
- VI **RELATIONS WITH THEODORE ROOSEVELT.** Public Address at Topeka, Kansas, March 8, 1920 . . . 123
- VII **WILLIAM MCKINLEY.** Address at the McKinley Memorial Dinner, Niles, Ohio, January 29, 1920 . . . 125
- Pioneer of Expansion—American Nationalist—A Partisan Republican—Cooperated with Congress—Political Parties Essential—Restored Prosperity in 1896—Apostle of Protective Tariff—His Leadership Is Inspiration—Memory Gives Confidence.
- VIII **GEORGE WASHINGTON.** Address Delivered February 22, 1918, at Washington's Birthday Celebration before the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution, at Washington, D. C. . . . 136
- Founders Divinely Inspired—Developed American Soul—Duty to Preserve Republic—Advice of Washington—Factionalism Decried—To Preserve National Rights.
- IX **ABRAHAM LINCOLN.** Address before Lincoln Club, Portland, Maine, February 13, 1920 . . . 145

CONTENTS—Continued

CHAPTER

PAGE

Duty of Citizenship—Exponent of Nationality
—America Affords Equal Opportunity.

- X GENERAL GRANT'S REPUBLICANISM. Address at
Grant Dinner, Middlesex Club, Boston, Massa-
chusetts, 1916 149

Political Principles Important—Equal Oppor-
tunity Is Basis—Republicanism Means Pros-
perity—Need Protective Policies—Sane Pro-
gressivism Needed—Renewed Consecration—
Home Production Urged—The Awakened
Conscience.

- XI VOTE ON DECLARATION OF WAR WITH GERMANY.
Address in the Senate of the United States,
Wednesday, April 4, 1917 164

Not Fighting in Name of Democracy—To
Maintain American Rights—To Preserve
America—Guarantee of Nationality.

- XII AMERICA IN THE WAR. Address at the Ohio
Republican State Convention, Columbus, Ohio,
August 27, 1918 170

Partisanism Forgotten—Republicans Sup-
ported War—New Birth of National Soul—
Republicans Urge Concord—Investigations
Prove Helpful—Reconstruction Ahead—Not
the President's War—Internationalism Decried
—Democratic Extravagance Attacked.

- XIII THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND AMERICA. Address
before the Republican Rally at Memorial Hall,
Columbus, Ohio, February 23, 1920 (Washing-
ton's Birthday) 182

Civilization Never Stands Still—We Were Neg-
lectful—Parties Government Agencies—Dan-
ger Mark Was Near—Country Wants Formal
Peace—Why Meddle in Europe—Need Judg-
ment of the Many—Has No Personal Ends—
Seeks Stable Ways of Peace—For American
Square Deal—Dreamer Needs Awakening—
Must Reiterate Wholesome Policies—Believes
in Government Aid—Ours Not Ungrateful Re-
public.

- XIV THE PROBLEMS OF BUSINESS. Address before
the Providence Chamber of Commerce, at Provi-
dence, Rhode Island, February 25, 1920 . . . 198

CONTENTS—*Continued*

CHAPTER

PAGE

Evolution of Modern Business—America Greatest Producer—Workmen Not Mere Machines—Humanism Should be Developed—Many Commissions Useless—Too Much Regulation—Minimized Production Destructive—Collective Bargaining Favored—Increased Production Needed.

- XV THE EXCESS PROFITS TAX. Address in the United States Senate, February 27, 1917 . . . 206

Heavy Tax Burden Necessary—What Constitutes Real Capital—Looking Forward to Peace—Business Should Be Encouraged—Foreign Producer Should Assist—Protective Tariff Needed—Business Needs Encouragement—Washington's Advice Applicable—Tax Is Penalty on Success.

- XVI AUTO-INTOXICATION. Address before Baltimore Press Club, at Baltimore, Maryland, February 5, 1920 218

Too Much High Living—Back to the Constitution—Party Government Necessary—Heart of America Still Sound—Government Ownership Opposed.

- XVII BACK TO NORMAL. Address before Home Market Club at Boston, Massachusetts, May 14, 1920 . . . 223

Normal Conditions Great Need—Formal Peace Sought—Should Seek Understanding—Work Is Solution—Supremacy of Law—Production Is Great Need—Sober Thinking Urged—Save America First.

- XVIII THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. Address in the United States Senate, Friday, January 28, 1916 . . . 230

America Has Obligation—Not Seeking Territory—No Oppression of Philippines—McKinley Not Selfish—Honorable Withdrawal Impossible—Commercial Advantages Shown—Filipinos Need America—American Progress Must Continue.

- XIX SOME SPECIFICATIONS. Delivered before the Builders' Exchange, Cleveland, Ohio 240

America Prodigal Gift of Creation—Makers of America—Honest Building Essential—Consecration to Civic Duty.

CONTENTS—*Continued*

CHAPTER	PAGE
XX THE KNOX RESOLUTION. Address in the United States Senate, May 11, 1920, on Resolution to Declare State of War Ended	247
President Was Warned—Congress Still Functions.	
XXI THE PEACE TREATY. Address in the United States Senate, November 18, 1919, When the Final Vote on the Peace Treaty Was Taken .	250
Reservations Are Essential—Majority Able to Reach Agreement—Treaty Negotiated upon Misunderstanding—Minority Did Not Seek Agreement—America Must Be Preserved— Welcomes Decision of People.	



Rededicating America

CHAPTER I

WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING

NATIONALISM is the life theme of Warren Harding. When the delegates to the Republican National Convention at Chicago called Senator Harding as the party's leader for the campaign of 1920, they chose a man whose controlling passion is, and has ever been, a complete devotion to America, strong and free, sovereign and supreme. As Senator Harding becomes better known to the American people, he will stand forth as the greatest nationalist of his day. Ever since he entered public life as a member of the Ohio legislature, he has thought in terms national. His devotion to the national ideal is the composite of the belief of William McKinley in representative government and the absolute Americanism of Theodore Roosevelt.

The Hardings have always thought in terms of nationalism. For three centuries those of his family who came before him were of the sturdy stock which early made its way to our colonial shores and had its part in the making of America as this country grew to be the best expression of governmental individual-

ism and developed nationality. The name Harding is as old as the *Doomsday Book* of 1086. Before America had its birth as a nation, many Hardings had come to cast their lot in the New England colony; indeed, historical records show that at least six Hardings came to America's shores a century before the Revolution. Abraham Harding came to Massachusetts, his widow, Elizabeth, settled in Boston; George Harding to Salem, John to Weymouth, Robert to Connecticut—all before 1650. From the Connecticut line of Robert Harding came Captain Stephen Harding, whose son, Abraham Harding, was the father of Amos Harding. The latter was the direct ancestor of Senator Harding. He reared a family of fourteen boys, all of whom bore Biblical names with the exception of George Tryon Harding, who was the father of Charles Alexander Harding and William Perry Harding. Charles Alexander left but one son, George Tryon Harding, father of Senator Harding.

Warren and his mother were genuinely intimate and affectionate. She was an ardent member of the Seventh Day Adventists and had the reputation of being the best versed woman in Biblical literature in her community. She was thoroughly cultured and had read widely. Persons who knew her well have told me that when Warren was a mere child, not over seven years old, she said to him repeatedly, "Warren, stay with your books and some day you will be president of the United States."

In after years Warren Harding moved to Marion, while his parents continued to reside in Caledonia, a small town ten miles to the east. For years it was

Warren's habit to go to his mother's home early every Sunday morning and the Sundays he missed were very few, indeed. By eight o'clock he was usually on his way to the old homestead armed with a handful of flowers. For nineteen years he took or sent flowers to her every week without fail. In the homecoming celebration following his nomination, D. R. Crisinger, his fellow townsman who made the welcoming address, referred graciously to this tender, weekly tribute which Senator Harding bestowed on his mother. It touched Mr. Harding deeply and was probably the most impressive moment of the celebration. The senator worshiped his mother and he did not endeavor to conceal his heart's regret that she was not here to be present at the homecoming. A stately woman, always of good cheer, she was universally loved. She was devoutly religious and her love for the beautiful and the true has made its eternal impress upon Warren's character. She died in 1910.

Senator Harding's father has been granted more than his three score and ten years, a kind Providence giving him the privilege of celebrating his seventy-sixth natal day on the very day his son was nominated for the highest honor at the bestowal of the American people. His father is a man of strong personality, with a kindly good will toward all the world and with a disposition characterized by tenderness and sympathy. He is still actively engaged in the practise of medicine. Of course, he has always been proud of Warren. In his modest way, however, he has endeavored to conceal his deep satisfaction upon his son's nomination. "I am not much excited," he said

when Harding was nominated, but the truth is that he did not eat anything that day, having forgotten his meals altogether. He was just supremely happy and nobody in Marion begrudges him the genuine delight he so richly deserves. He sacrificed much in his earlier life that Warren might be thoroughly educated, and his son's success is his just reward.

A typical farm homestead near Blooming Grove, Morrow County, Ohio, was the birthplace of Warren Gamaliel Harding, November 2, 1865. He will celebrate his fifty-fifth anniversary on election day. This American community had already come to fame as the birthplace of Senator Calvin S. Brice and Albert P. Morehouse, governor of Missouri, and his great state, even before this time, had won its way into the hearts of Americans as the "Mother of Presidents."

All that is good in citizenship and honest living is the priceless possession of the Hardings. They lived the typical life of the early Americans. They did not suffer from an over-abundance of wealth, but without exception they held the esteem of their neighbors and were true to themselves. Warren, in turn, lived the normal life of an American boy in the country districts of the great Central West. He was early a leader of his boyish crowd. As was the custom of his time, the winter months of his early years were spent in the country or village school, while the summers found him hard at work on his father's farm, or seeking employment in the village. Warren was naturally bright in school. It would hardly be proper to say that he was precocious, but his lessons came very easily and he led his class without having to dig; moreover, he

was too hearty and healthy a boy to study much more than was necessary to keep him ahead of his fellows. He especially enjoyed grammar, and so it comes about that he possesses a remarkable aptitude for the choice of accurate and meaningful words.

As he came to his teens he did the work of the Ohio pioneer, clearing the woodland and developing the crops. At one time he worked in a sawmill. The owner of this mill to this day insists that Warren was such a good worker that it almost cost him his life. He had been given the task of cleaning the floor near a bandsaw and was warned not to clear away the rubbish too near the saw. Warren was determined to make a complete job of it; he leaned over to brush under the saw and in an instant the crown of his hat was clipped by the buzzer and whirled to the ceiling. The lad came within three inches of never having the opportunity to lead his party to victory. Later he worked as a laborer in building the Toledo and Ohio Central Railroad which was laid through Morrow County, and he followed such other pursuits as the days might bring.

While a boy, young Harding is well remembered as having ridden the family mule from Caledonia to Marion, after the removal of the family from the village to the county-seat. The story is told that on the trip he stopped a farmer to inquire how much of his journey to Marion remained. The farmer looked at him reproachfully and dolefully exclaimed, "Wal, it taint so fur if you get off that there mule and walk, but if you're goin' to ride that beast, it's a purty durn fur ways off!"

Like most young men who were the leaders of their set, young Harding took his turn at teaching elementary school, mainly for the purpose of obtaining funds to continue his education. He was a good teacher, due partly to his genuine desire for learning plus his mental attainments, but more because of his executive ability. He taught the fundamentals very successfully and he held the respect and esteem of his pupils. But what is even more important, he instilled into them the spirit of thrift, of activity, of getting things done—and of patriotism.

When he was fourteen years of age, his parents were able to send him to Ohio Central College at Iberia, from which institution he was graduated with a very good record in scholarship, and the degree of Bachelor of Science. It was there, as editor of the college paper, that he found a liking and displayed a talent for journalism. "If I have any faculty for the work I am now doing," he said in later years, "I owe it most to my training as editor of the college paper while a student." His college course was marked by varied vacation employments, not because of poverty, but because his parents had taught him the value of work. He, therefore, engaged in cutting corn, painting houses and grading roadbeds. He was an average farmer, a very good house painter and a steady workman for the railroad.

His favorite pastime during this period of life was playing in the Caledonia and Marion bands. Despite stories to the contrary regarding the instrument he played, let it be said here in finality that Warren Harding played a tenor horn as a beginner, sometimes

the tuba when a substitute was needed, and ultimately the cornet. Since his nomination he has been made to perform on almost every instrument known to a band, but his fellow musicians told me that there need be no doubt about it, for they all remember distinctly that he was a very good musician, regular at practise, and that he played the aforesaid horns. His band visited the neighboring cities and took third prize in the state-wide band tournament at Findlay, Ohio, in 1882. Only seven members of this organization now survive, and to a man they declare that Warren Harding was a jolly good fellow as a young man, modest, unassuming, industrious, full of fun, loyal to his friends and devoted to his parents. "And what is more important," declared Joe Mathews, who played in the celebrated band with him, "is that Warren has never changed a bit to this day."

The odor of printers' ink took hold of him when he left college. He had become a hand typesetter as a boy, and when the linotype was first introduced he learned to operate the machine. He is a practical pressman, job printer and make-up editor. To this day he carries, as his "luck piece," the printer's rule of his composing-room days. During the Blaine campaign he was employed on a Democratic newspaper and when his Republicanism could no longer be held within bounds and he joined a Blaine club and donned a Blaine hat, he lost his job.

He turned to reportorial and editorial work on the *Marion Daily Star* of Marion, Ohio. The supreme desire of his early life was to own this newspaper and so in time his father gave him the small financial as-

sistance that permitted him to purchase it. The guiding spirit of the *Marion Star* has been, and is, Senator Harding himself. Always constructive, always fearless, it has become known throughout the country as a newspaper of prestige and power. Senator Harding is justly proud of the fact that his paper has never had a labor strike or even a threatened controversy with its employees. As soon as he was able to put the *Daily Star* on a firm financial foundation, he organized a stock company with his employees, distributing shares to his workmen so that now they, with him, own the paper. Years ago he expressed his conception of the relation between the newspaper and the public in this creed, written in his office for his office staff:

"Remember there are two sides to every question. Get both. Be truthful. Get the facts. Mistakes are inevitable, but strive for accuracy. I would rather have one story exactly right than a hundred half wrong. Be decent; be fair, be generous. Boost—don't knock. There's good in everybody. Bring out the good in everybody, and never, needlessly, hurt the feelings of anybody. In reporting a political gathering, give the facts; tell the story as it is, not as you would like to have it. Treat all parties alike. If there's any politics to be played, we will play it in our editorial columns. Treat all religious matters reverently. If it can possibly be avoided never bring ignominy to an innocent man or child in telling of the misdeeds or misfortune of a relative. Don't wait to be asked, but do it without the asking, and, above all, be clean and never let a dirty word or suggestive story get into type. I want this paper so conducted that it can go into any home without destroying the innocence of any child."

Senator Harding's general business ability soon became recognized and he was called to interest himself in other commercial lines before he entered politics. He became a director of the Marion County Bank of Marion, Ohio; a member of the board of directors of the Marion Lumber Company, the Marion County Telephone Company, the Marion Home Building and Loan Association and numerous other concerns. He gave financial support to several new industries which came to Marion when these commercial organizations sought his business counsel. He devoted much time to civic affairs, and became a trustee of the Trinity Baptist Church, which he attends regularly when at home.

Warren Harding is essentially human. He has always been interested in the charities of his town and has done innumerable acts of helpfulness known only to himself and the beneficiary of his kindness. He has given financial assistance to more than one fellow townsman who had met adversity and in whom many people had lost faith. On one of his recent trips he met an acquaintance whom he had not seen in many months and who was threatened with total blindness. Harding took his friend of earlier years with him to Washington, placed him in the hands of an eminent eye specialist, and was so sincerely happy when the physician was able to restore the sight of one eye that he confidentially told one or two of his neighbors about it.

Harding's humanitarianism, simple, unheralded, always behind closed doors, is one of his truly great characteristics, and ranks in importance with his utter

sincerity. When I asked a fellow member of the United States Senate what he regarded as the senator's greatest attribute, he replied instantly:

"Modesty and sincerity. Harding's modesty manifests itself at all times and sometimes to his disadvantage through being mistaken for a lack of confidence in himself. I have always been impressed with this quality in him. Both in committee meetings and on the floor of the Senate he advances his views, not with an air of finality, nor yet timidity, but with becoming modesty, and seldom until he has listened patiently to what others have to say, but he is tenacious of his opinions and is not easily swayed from his conclusions once they have been reached. He is as sincere as a man can be. I have never yet known him to temporize. What he believes he says and he does not say what he does not believe. I know of no other man in public life so little given to dissembling; for better or for worse, he is just what he appears to be."

No sketch of the Republican standard bearer is complete without tender and just tribute to Florence Kling Harding, his devoted, enthusiastic and very able wife, whom he married in 1891. She is his eternal inspiration and their relations are as near ideal as could be on this mundane sphere. They are the best comrades, sharing their problems in full together and finding their happiness in their affection for each other. Mrs. Harding is a woman of culture, sincere, genuine, and always happy. She has lived her entire life in or near her present home. Her father, Amos Kling, was a substantial business man of Marion, and she attended the Marion schools. She is widely read and spends much time with her books. As a young woman, her

hobby was horseback riding; she was a clever rider and now is an excellent judge of saddle horses. She loves the great outdoors.

"I can not realize that Warren has been nominated for the presidency," she said to me a month after the nomination. "It hardly seems real to me." And her attitude bespeaks the fact, for she is the same cordial, lovable woman to-day that she was five years ago. Fully able to bear the heavy tasks which now come to her, she refuses absolutely to permit the tremendous honor to change her one iota.

Senator Harding also is privileged to enjoy the comradeship of three loyal sisters. Miss Abigail Harding resides with her father in Marion and is a teacher of English in the Marion High School. Another sister, Mrs. Carolyn Votaw, is the wife of Doctor Herbert Votaw, of Washington, D. C. She is deeply interested in social problems and is a member of the Women's Bureau of the Police Department of the capital city. A third sister, Mrs. Charity M. Remsberg, resides in California. His only brother, Doctor G. T. Harding, Jr., is an eminent physician of Columbus, Ohio.

While Senator Harding has always maintained his numerous business connections, increasing them from year to year, his interest in and ability for things governmental early turned him to an active participation in public affairs. He was elected a member of the upper chamber of the Seventy-fifth and Seventy-sixth Ohio General Assemblies as senator from the Thirteenth Ohio District, serving from 1899 to 1903. He had already gained a state-wide reputation as a public speaker and as editor of his forceful paper, whose editorials,

written largely by the senator himself, were read and valued throughout his state. He was now an Ohio figure and the following year his leadership was recognized in his nomination and election as lieutenant-governor. Seven years later found him the Republican candidate for governor, but, because of a party disaffection, he met his first political defeat. At that time he said publicly that he would leave the political arena, but in the short space of two years' time he returned actively to politics, supporting William Howard Taft for renomination and reelection as president of the United States. In another two years' time he became a candidate for the Republican nomination for senator and in the first primary election held in his state he defeated Senator Joseph B. Foraker. This was in the spring of 1914. When the votes were counted at the November election his fellow Ohioans sent him to the United States Senate with a majority of 102,373 over Timothy S. Hogan, his Democratic opponent, and with 73,000 more votes than the next highest candidate on the Republican ticket.

When he reached Washington, Senator Harding quickly won the respect and esteem of his fellow senators. He had the happy fortune of making and holding the genuine friendship of every member of that body. From that time to the present it has been an almost daily occurrence in the Republican senatorial cloak-room for some senator, in the course of a conference, to say, "Let's see what Warren thinks about this." His judgment, abundance of common sense and breadth of understanding are recognized as his most valued assets. Senator Harding has a fine poise and

a deliberate and judicial manner. His friends say they have never known him to lose his temper in violent fashion and that he always has himself under perfect command. His opinions and views on public questions have met the almost universal approval of the members on his side of the chamber. They welcome his counsel and he invites theirs. If he removes from Capitol Hill to the White House, Senator Harding can not do otherwise than understand Congress and work with it to the expedition of legislation. And his lifelong desire for counsel will unquestionably cause him to call to his Cabinet strong, able, loyal Americans; to the eternal glory of the republic.

Warren Harding attends to his senatorial business. Relying upon the ability and faithfulness of his secretary, George B. Christian, Jr., who is greatly devoted to his chief, he has established a reputation among his fellow senators for the efficient administration of the varied lines of activity which United States senators these days are called upon to perform. His office has an atmosphere of hospitality; his visitors feel unconsciously that they are welcome; he is always accessible, generous with his time, ready to hear and to help.

Senator Harding is in regular attendance at his committee meetings. Several years before he was publicly considered for the presidency, I observed him in committee sessions. In the course of an hour's meeting he invariably asks half a dozen pointed questions. He calls bluntly for the opinions of other senators on the committee and relies, to a considerable extent, upon their combined judgments in reaching his own conclu-

sions on the question under consideration. He does a full day's work and is busy at his office from nine o'clock in the morning until Mrs. Harding comes for him at six in the evening, and often then his day's work is not yet completed. With Mrs. Harding and his devoted secretary, he gathers up in his automobile one or more other senators who are "going his way," sharing their comradeship and taking them to their homes.

Those acquainted with the official life of Washington know that the work of the government is done largely by congressional committees. It is in the committee rooms that the innumerable vital questions are considered in detail and committee conclusions reached after many hours of discussion and deliberation. Since his election to the Senate, Senator Harding has had important committee assignments. During the last two years he has served as chairman of the Committee on the Philippines. His most important assignment has been the Foreign Relations Committee, and next to that the Committee on Commerce. His other committees are: Territories; Pacific Islands and Porto Rico; Public Health and National Quarantine; Standards, Weights and Measures, and Expenditures in the Treasury Department.

In his busy career he has found time for three trips abroad, devoted largely to a study of European governments and their economic problems, and because of his travels his counsel has been much sought on questions before the Philippines Committee, Pacific Islands and Porto Rico and Territories. His extensive business connections throughout Ohio, covering many

years, have made him an invaluable member of the Committee on Commerce. His especial interest in this committee relates to the merchant marine, and his activities were signally helpful in speeding up ship construction to meet war needs. He views the nation's commercial problems from a business man's standpoint, bringing to them practical considerations rather than the theories of the professional economist.

His greatest usefulness, as well as his deepest satisfaction and genuine interest, is in his membership on the Committee on Foreign Relations. This committee, since the signing of the armistice, has been by far the most important committee of Congress, and during the war it ranked second only to the Committee on Military Affairs. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has been charged with the gigantic task of considering the peace treaty. The time will surely come when the American historian will give just credit to those members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations who held firm to the advocacy of an America free, strong, untrammled and supreme in her individualism. In this little group of stout-hearted Americans, Warren Harding deserves high rank. He was one of those senators who maintained their calm and deliberation, who kept their minds clear and their hearts strong in the devotion to their country during the unsettled, anxious and abnormal times of the war and in all the subsequent and often acrid peace discussions. This service has been his highest contribution to America up to the present time. It is proper that Americans judge him by his attitude toward our international re-

lations in connection with the war and I am sure that he would welcome all Americans in estimating his worth on this basis.

Senator Harding has always been in favor of a proper understanding among the nations of the world. He does not underestimate the awful horrors of war and he is willing to go far to prevent future conflicts. But he has a consuming passion for his beloved country, her safety and her preserved identity. "We do not need, and we do not mean to live within and for ourselves alone," he said on the floor of the Senate during the league of nations debate, "but we mean to hold our ideals safe from foreign incursion. It is easily possible to hold the world's highest esteem through righteous relationships. We are willing to give, but we resent demands. Let us have an America walking erect, unafraid, concerned about its rights and ready to defend them, sure of its ideals and strong to support them. Out of the discovered soul of this republic and through our preservative actions, we shall hold the word 'American' the proudest boast of citizenship in all the world."

He could never bring himself to accept the involvements which he felt sure would come to America by her membership in the league of nations as submitted to the Senate by the peace conference. The privacy and secrecy which he felt were so conspicuous in the peace conference were abhorrent to him. In his frank, sure manner of thought and action which has characterized his senatorial service, sometimes to his political disadvantage, he deeply resented the attitude of the peace confrères in failing to take the peoples of

their respective countries into full confidence. He believed sincerely that the result of the peace negotiations would be to create a supergovernment over this country and, so believing, he declared his conviction to the people of the United States that he regarded this, though unconscious and unintended, a betrayal of the country.

His devotion to America was not a new attitude with him when the peace treaty was presented to the Senate. In explaining his vote on the declaration of war in the United States Senate, Wednesday, April 4, 1917, he said, in his vigorous and deliberate way: "I want it known to the people of my state and to the nation that I am voting for war to-night for the maintenance of just American rights, which is the first essential to the preservation of the soul of this republic." That was his view of America before the European war was dreamed of; it was his view of America when we entered the war and it was still his conception when the conflict had ended. He could not do otherwise in voting on the peace treaty than remain true to the faith that was in him. He was ready to go to war because America had been attacked, and he was willing to conclude peace only on a basis which preserved his country inviolate. He believed that our entrance into the war was determined by the conscience of America and he thought that the dictates of that conscience should determine the terms of peace, so far as the United States was concerned.

His absolute candor, as exhibited in connection with the peace treaty, has shown itself in his attitude on all public questions. To some of his friends, and to some

senators, it is almost uncanny. "Warren is making a mistake which will hurt him politically" has been the comment heard in Washington on numerous occasions when he stated publicly his attitude on questions which held the attention of the American people. This same frankness was shown during the consideration of the Cummins railroad bill. He voted for the anti-strike clause in the railroad bill despite the protests and threats that it would annihilate him politically. "If the government representing all the people can not guarantee transportation service under any and all conditions, it fails utterly," he declared, and he squared his public attitude with this conscientious belief. He has always favored rational unionism and collective bargaining, and has so stated publicly on many occasions; for eleven years he has operated his newspaper on the share-holding plan with the employees. But when the question was squarely put up to him as to whether he should vote to permit any one class to become stronger than his government, he took his stand, and this at a time when he contemplated becoming a candidate for the presidency. Again his love for America and his belief that she should be supreme overpowered all other considerations, and he said so.

This passionate devotion to America caused him to lay aside all partisan feeling during the war. He disagreed with many of the acts of the administration, but he would not permit his disagreement to swerve him in his course in support of a vigorous prosecution of the war. He voted for the measure to arm merchant ships. He supported the espionage bill and the selective draft measure. He voted for food control

legislation. He supported the administration war revenue bills, opposing several amendments for sixty to seventy-five per cent. taxes on war profits in the belief that such taxes directly injured business, slowed down production and thereby reacted to the detriment of the American people. He supported the merchant marine measure and has always been an ardent advocate of a powerful merchant marine. He voted for the Sheppard resolution proposing national prohibition. Having voted for the prohibition amendment, he supported the Volstead enforcement law and again voted to enact this measure over the president's veto. He believed that the time had come when women should be taken into participation in the political activities of the country and he voted for the proposed suffrage amendment. He supported the resolution to withdraw American troops from Russia because he felt that our participation in Russian affairs was neither wise, necessary, nor American. When the measure requiring publicity for campaign contributions was considered, he voted in favor of it, against the protests of a certain class of politicians. He is a strong protectionist, although there has been little occasion for him to exhibit his attitude publicly in the Senate upon this question during the last five years. He believes strongly in efficiency in government, just as he insists upon it in his private business, and has long been an advocate of the budget system as the proper basis for the business affairs of our federal government.

That governmental legislation will not prove a cure-all for the economic and social ills of the day is only too well understood and appreciated by Harding.

Proper legislation can do much to improve conditions, but thrift, economy and simple living on the part of the American people is of far more importance, Harding knows. "Let us call to all the people for thrift and economy, for denial and sacrifice; if need be for a nation-wide drive against extravagance and luxury, to a recommittal to simplicity of living, to that prudent and normal plan of life which is the health of the republic," he admonished in his address accepting the presidential nomination. More than any other public man, Senator Harding has, during the last year, urged his countrymen to counteract the fervid anxiety of the war and its aftermath, to end the hysteria of the day of the world conflict, and to "get back to normal." War powers should have been rescinded months ago in his belief, and Americans should return to their normal activities of peace.

Harding's face is forward. He is in entire sympathy with well developed movements which make better the lot of the American people. He has eagerly supported such measures as that to impose a high rate of duty on imports of child-labor-made goods. He voted for the establishment of a minimum wage board to fix wages for women and children in the District of Columbia. He favored overtime pay for federal employees when employed extra hours. He supported those proposals which in his opinion were beneficial to the American soldier and sailor. His kindly heart and his clear, calm mind have given him an admirable grasp on the social problems of the day.

Harding is distinctly a constructive statesman; negatives are unknown to him. Constructive meas-

ures to receive his favor must be able to stand the test of experience, must meet the requirements of an historical analysis and above all must be based upon good common sense. When they can withstand these tests, Harding is the first to advocate them. The assertion is made, without contradiction, that every constructive, progressive measure which has been voted upon in the United States Senate since he was elected to that body six years ago and which withstood the aforementioned requirements, has had his vote and his voice.

His advocacy of American nationalism is analogous to his belief in the Republican party as a party strong in and of itself. He warmly admired William McKinley, who was his good personal friend for many years, first as an American nationalist and secondly, as a partisan Republican. Senator Harding is being popularly likened to William McKinley these days and there is much basis for the comparison. Harding believes profoundly in the principles of the Republican party as did William McKinley. Speaking of McKinley, he said: "He believed in party government through the agency of political parties and believed in his party as the agency of greatest good to the American people. He was considerate, tolerant, courteous, but ever a Republican. He did not believe his party had a monopoly on all that was good or patriotic, but he did believe it best capable of serving our common country and its policies best suited to promoting our common fortune." When Senator Harding spoke thus of William McKinley, those who know him best are sure that he was speaking his own firm belief in the party of his choice. Harding believes that political

parties are essential to the American form of representative government and he is the true exponent of party rather than personal government. The simple truth is that the views of McKinley and Harding upon party affairs and upon the basic principles of our government are, to a great extent, identical.

During the disaffection in the party which began in the campaign of 1912, he could not entertain the belief that it was wise to disrupt the party organization and he said so in vigorous fashion at every public opportunity. Four years later, Colonel Roosevelt sent for him and Senator Harding gladly accepted the invitation. They did not dwell long on the conditions of 1912. Both agreed that mistakes had been made and that the greatest need of the country was the complete unification of the Republican party. Colonel Roosevelt asked Senator Harding to champion a measure to permit the former president to lead a volunteer detachment to France and the senator enthusiastically introduced such a bill in the United States Senate. He obtained its passage, but it fell under the presidential veto. "If he had lived, Colonel Roosevelt would have been our Republican nominee by acclamation in 1920," Senator Harding said but a few months before his own nomination.

As Roosevelt was grim and resolute, so is Harding. The Republican nominee, often silent in his determination, takes counsel in abundance, and, with it all, reaches his own conclusions. With the combined thought of the best American minds, he will show the way to the Constitution, to constructive

American development, to a virile nationalism. He will rededicate America.

His admirers see in Senator Harding a composite of Roosevelt and McKinley. "Colonel Roosevelt's name will be inseparably linked with the finding of the American soul, with the great awakening and consecration," he said, and of McKinley he declared, "If he were alive to-day, William McKinley would be an American nationalist." Harding's every public utterance has been based upon nationalism and Americanism. He estimates American leaders who have gone before by these two standards. He has lived his life thus far by them and he now goes before the American people as a candidate for their highest honor submitting as his greatest asset his devotion to them. When his work is done, of him the historian will say, "Warren Harding, Nationalist and American."

CHAPTER II

SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE

*Address at Formal Notification of His Nomination for
the Presidency, at Marion, Ohio, July 22, 1920*

CHAIRMAN LODGE, MEMBERS OF THE NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE, MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—The message which you have formally conveyed brings to me a realization of responsibility which is not underestimated. It is a supreme task to interpret the covenant of a great political party, the activities of which are so woven into the history of this republic, and a very sacred and solemn undertaking to utter the faith and aspirations of the many millions who adhere to that party. The party platform has charted the way, yet somehow we have come to expect that interpretation which voices the faith of nominees who must assume specific tasks.

Let me be understood clearly from the very beginning. I believe in party sponsorship in government. I believe in party government as distinguished from personal government, individual, dictatorial, autocratic or what not. In a citizenship of more than a hundred millions it is impossible to reach agreement upon all questions. Parties are formed by those who reach a consensus of opinion. It was the intent of the founding fathers to give to this republic a dependable and en-

during popular government, representative in form, and it was designed to make political parties not only the preserving sponsors but also the effective agencies through which hopes and aspirations and convictions and conscience may be translated into public performance.

CONSTITUTION CHARTS THE WAY

Popular government has been an inspiration of liberty since the dawn of civilization. Republics have risen and fallen, and a transition from party to personal government has preceded every failure since the world began. Under the Constitution we have the charted way to security and perpetuity. We know it gave to us the safe path to a developing eminence which no people in the world ever rivaled. It has guaranteed the rule of intelligent, deliberate public opinion expressed through parties. Under this plan a masterful leadership becomingly may manifest its influence, but a people's will still remains the supreme authority.

The American achievement under the plan of the fathers is nowhere disputed. On the contrary the American example has been the model of every republic which glorifies the progress of liberty, and is everywhere the leaven of representative democracy which has expanded human freedom. It has been wrought through party government.

No man is big enough to run this great republic. There never has been one. Such domination was never intended. Tranquillity, stability, dependability—all are assured in party sponsorship, and we mean

to renew the assurances which were rended in the cataclysmal war.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT TO BE RESTORED

It was not surprising that we went far afield from safe and prescribed paths amid the war anxieties. There was the unfortunate tendency before; there was the surrender of Congress to the growing assumption of the executive before the world war imperiled all the practises we had learned to believe in; and in the war emergency every safeguard was swept away. In the name of democracy we established autocracy. We are not complaining at this extraordinary bestowal or assumption in war, it seemed temporarily necessary; our alarm is over the failure to restore the constitutional methods when the war emergency ended.

Our first committal is the restoration of representative popular government, under the Constitution, through the agency of the Republican party. Our vision includes more than a chief executive, we believe in a Cabinet of highest capacity, equal to the responsibilities which our system contemplates, in whose councils the vice-president, second official of the republic, shall be asked to participate. The same vision includes a cordial understanding and coordinated activities with a house of Congress, fresh from the people, voicing the convictions which members bring from direct contact with the electorate, and cordial cooperation along with the restored functions of the Senate, fit to be the greatest deliberative body of the world. Its members are the designated sentinels on the towers of constitutional government. The resumption of the Senate's authority

saved to this republic its independent nationality, when autocracy misinterpreted the dream of a world experiment to be the vision of a world ideal.

REPUBLICAN SENATORS SAVED AMERICA

It is not difficult, Chairman Lodge, to make ourselves clear on the question of international relationship. We Republicans of the Senate, conscious of our solemn oaths and mindful of our constitutional obligations, when we saw the structure of a world super-government taking visionary form, joined in a becoming warning of our devotion to this republic. If the torch of constitutionalism had not been dimmed, the delayed peace of the world and the tragedy of disappointment and Europe's misunderstanding of America easily might have been avoided. The Republicans of the Senate halted the barter of independent American eminence and influence which it was proposed to exchange for an obscure and unequal place in the merged government of the world. Our party means to hold the heritage of American nationality unimpaired and unsundered.

The world will not misconstrue. We do not mean to hold aloof. We do not mean to shun a single responsibility of this republic to world civilization. There is no hate in the American heart. We have no envy, no suspicion, no aversion for any people in the world. We hold to our rights, and means to defend, aye, we mean to sustain the rights of this nation and our citizens alike, everywhere under the shining sun. Yet there is the concord of amity and sympathy and fraternity in every resolution. There is a genuine as-

piration in every American breast for a tranquil friendship with all the world.

WILL PRESERVE AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

More, we believe the unspeakable sorrows, the immeasurable sacrifices, the awakened convictions and the aspiring conscience of human kind must commit the nations of the earth to a new and better relationship. It need not be discussed now what motives plunged the world into war, it need not be inquired whether we asked the sons of this republic to defend our national rights, as I believe we did, or to purge the Old World of the accumulated ills of rivalry and greed, the sacrifices will be in vain if we can not acclaim a new order, with added security to civilization and peace maintained.

One may readily sense the conscience of our America. I am sure I understand the purpose of the dominant group of the Senate. We were not seeking to defeat a world aspiration, we were resolved to safeguard America. We were resolved then, even as we are to-day, and will be to-morrow, to preserve this free and independent republic. Let those now responsible, or seeking responsibility, propose the surrender, whether with interpretations, apologies or reluctant reservations—from which our rights are to be omitted—we welcome the referendum to the American people on the preservation of America, and the Republican party pledges its defense of the preserved inheritance of national freedom.

TO RESTORE FORMAL PEACE

In the call of the conscience of America is peace, peace that closes the gaping wound of world war, and silences the impassioned voices of international envy and distrust. Heeding this call and knowing as I do the disposition of the Congress, I promise you formal and effective peace so quickly as a Republican Congress can pass its declaration for a Republican executive to sign. Then we may turn to our readjustment at home and proceed deliberately and reflectively to that hoped-for world relationship which shall satisfy both conscience and aspirations and still hold us free from menacing involvement.

I can hear in the call of conscience an insistent voice for the largely reduced armaments throughout the world, with attending reduction of burdens upon peace-loving humanity. We wish to give of American influence and example; we must give of American leadership to that invaluable accomplishment.

I can speak unreservedly of the American aspiration and the Republican committal for an association of nations, cooperating in sublime accord, to attain and preserve peace through justice rather than force, determined to add to security through international law, so clarified that no misconstruction can be possible without affronting world honor.

This republic can never be unmindful of its power, and must never forget the force of its example. Possessor of might that admits no fear, America must stand foremost for the right. If the mistaken voice of America, spoken in unheeding haste, led Europe,

in the hour of deepest anxiety, into a military alliance which menaces peace and threatens all freedom, instead of adding to their security, then we must speak the truth for America and express our hope for the fraternized conscience of nations.

INDEPENDENT AID TO WORLD JUSTICE

It will avail nothing to discuss in detail the league covenant, which was conceived for world supergovernment, negotiated in misunderstanding, and intol-erantly urged and demanded by its administration sponsors, who resisted every effort to safeguard America, and who finally rejected when such safeguards were inserted. If the supreme blunder has left European relationships inextricably interwoven in the league compact, our sympathy for Europe only magnifies our own good fortune in resisting involvement. It is better to be the free and disinterested agent of international justice and advancing civilization, with the covenant of conscience, than be shackled by a written compact which surrenders our freedom of action and gives to a military alliance the right to proclaim America's duty to the world. No surrender of rights to a world council or its military alliance, no assumed mandatory, however appealing, ever shall summon the sons of this republic to war. Their supreme sacrifice shall only be asked for America and its call of honor. There is a sanctity in that right we will not delegate.

When the compact was being written, I do not know whether Europe asked or ambition insistently bestowed. It was so good to rejoice in the world's confidence in our unselfishness that I can believe our evident

disinterestedness inspired Europe's wish for our association, quite as much as the selfish thought of enlisting American power and resources. Ours is an outstanding, influential example to the world, whether we cloak it in spoken modesty or magnify it in exaltation. We want to help ; we mean to help ; but we hold to our own interpretation of the American conscience as the very soul of our nationality.

Disposed as we are, the way is very simple. Let the failure attending assumption, obstinacy, impracticability and delay be recognized, and let us find the big, practical, unselfish way to do our part, neither covetous because of ambition nor hesitant through fear, but ready to serve ourselves, humanity and God. With a Senate advising as the Constitution contemplates, I would hopefully approach the nations of Europe and of the earth, proposing that understanding which makes us a willing participant in the consecration of nations to a new relationship, to commit the moral forces of the world, America included, to peace and international justice, still leaving America free, independent and self-reliant, but offering friendship to all the world.

TO RESTORE CONSTITUTION

If men call for more specific details, I remind them that moral committals are broad and all inclusive, and we are contemplating peoples in the concord of humanity's advancement. From our own view-point the program is specifically American, and we mean to be Americans first, to all the world.

Appraising preserved nationality as the first essential

to the continued progress of the republic, there is linked with it the supreme necessity of the restoration—let us say the re-revelment—of the Constitution, and our reconstruction as an industrial nation. Here is the transcending task. It concerns our common weal at home and will decide our future eminence in the world. More than these, this republic, under constitutional liberties, has given to mankind the most fortunate conditions for human activity and attainment the world has ever noted, and we are to-day the world's reserve force in the great contest for liberty through security, and maintained equality of opportunity and its righteous rewards.

It is folly to close our eyes to outstanding facts. Humanity is restive, much of the world is in revolution, the agents of discord and destruction have wrought their tragedy in pathetic Russia, have lighted their torches among other peoples, and hope to see America as a part of the great red conflagration. Ours is the temple of liberty under the law, and it is ours to call the Sons of Opportunity to its defense. America must not only save herself, but ours must be the appealing voice to sober the world.

MUST ENCOURAGE COMPETITION

More than all else the present-day world needs understanding. There can be no peace save through composed differences, and the submission of the individual to the will and weal of the many. Any other plan means anarchy and its rule of force.

It must be understood that toil alone makes for accomplishment and advancement, and righteous posses-

sion is the reward of toil, and its incentive. There is no progress except in the stimulus of competition. When competition—natural, fair, impelling competition—is suppressed, whether by law, compact or conspiracy, we halt the march of progress, silence the voice of aspiration, and paralyze the will for achievement. These are but common-sense truths of human development.

The chief trouble to-day is that the world war wrought the destruction of healthful competition, left our storehouses empty, and there is a minimum production when our need is maximum. Maximums, not minimums, is the call of America. It isn't a new story, because war never fails to leave depleted storehouses and always impairs the efficiency of production. War also establishes its higher standards for wages, and they abide. I wish the higher wage to abide, on one explicit condition—that the wage-earner will give full return for the wage received. It is the best assurance we can have for a reduced cost of living. Mark you, I am ready to acclaim the highest standard of pay, but I would be blind to the responsibilities that mark this fateful hour if I did not caution the wage-earners of America that mounting wages and decreased production can lead only to industrial and economic ruin.

INCREASED PRODUCTION GREAT NEED

I want, somehow, to appeal to the sons and daughters of the republic, to every producer, to join hand and brain in production, more production, honest production, patriotic production, because patriotic production is no less a defense of our best civilization than

that of armed force. Profiteering is a crime of commission, under-production is a crime of omission. We must work our most and best, else the destructive reaction will come. We must stabilize and strive for normalcy, else the inevitable reaction will bring its train of sufferings, disappointments and reversals. We want to forestall such reaction, we want to hold all advanced ground, and fortify it with general good-fortune.

Let us return for a moment to the necessity for understanding, particularly that understanding which concerns ourselves at home. I decline to recognize any conflict of interest among the participants in industry. The destruction of one is the ruin of the other, the suspicion or rebellion of one unavoidably involves the other. In conflict is disaster, in understanding there is triumph. There is no issue relating to the foundation on which industry is builded, because industry is bigger than any element in its modern making. But the insistent call is for labor, management and capital to reach understanding.

INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION URGED

The human element comes first, and I want the employers in industry to understand the aspirations, the convictions, the yearnings of the millions of American wage-earners, and I want the wage-earners to understand the problems, the anxieties, the obligations of management and capital, and all of them must understand their relationship to the people and their obligation to the republic. Out of this understanding will come the unanimous committal to economic justice,

and in economic justice lies that social justice which is the highest essential to human happiness.

I am speaking as one who has counted the contents of the pay envelope from the view-point of the earner as well as the employer. No one pretends to deny the inequalities which are manifest in modern industrial life. They are less in fact than they were before organization and grouping on either side revealed the inequalities, and conscience has wrought more justice than statutes have compelled, but the ferment of the world rivets our thoughts on the necessity of progressive solution, else our generation will suffer the experiment which means chaos for our day to reestablish God's plan for the great to-morrow.

Speaking our sympathies, uttering the conscience of all the people, mindful of our right to dwell amid the good fortunes of rational, conscience-impelled advancement, we hold the majesty of righteous government, with liberty under the law, to be our avoidance of chaos, and we call upon every citizen of the republic to hold fast to that which made us what we are, and we will have orderly government safeguard the onward march to all we ought to be.

CLASSISM DECRIED

The menacing tendency of the present day is not chargeable wholly to the unsettled and fevered conditions caused by the war. The manifest weakness in popular government lies in the temptation to appeal to grouped citizenship for political advantage. There is no greater peril. The Constitution contemplates no class and recognizes no group. It broadly includes all

the people, with specific recognition for none, and the highest consecration we can make to-day is a commitment of the Republican party to that saving constitutionalism which contemplates all America as one people, and holds just government free from influence on the one hand and unmoved by intimidation on the other.

It would be the blindness of folly to ignore the activities in our own country which are aimed to destroy our economic system, and to commit us to the colossal tragedy which has both destroyed all freedom and made Russia impotent. This movement is not to be halted in throttled liberties. We must not abridge the freedom of speech, the freedom of press, or the freedom of assembly, because there is no promise in repression. These liberties are as sacred as the freedom of religious belief, as inviolable as the rights of life and the pursuit of happiness. We do hold to the right to crush sedition, to stifle a menacing contempt for law, to stamp out a peril to the safety of the republic or its people, when emergency calls, because security and the majesty of the law are the first essentials of liberty. He who threatens destruction of the government by force or flaunts his contempt for lawful authority ceases to be a loyal citizen and forfeits his rights to the freedom of the republic.

DELIBERATE READJUSTMENT SOUGHT

Let it be said to all of America that our plan of popular government contemplates such orderly changes as the crystallized intelligence of the majority of our people think best. There can be no modification of this underlying rule, but no majority shall abridge the

rights of a minority. Men have a right to question our system in fullest freedom, but they must always remember that the rights of freedom impose the obligations which maintain it. Our policy is not of repression, but we make appeal to-day to American intelligence and patriotism, when the republic is menaced from within, just as we trusted American patriotism when our rights were threatened from without.

We call on all America for steadiness, so that we may proceed deliberately to the readjustment which concerns all the people. Our party platform fairly expresses the conscience of Republicans on industrial relations. No party is indifferent to the welfare of the wage-earner. To us his good fortune is of deepest concern, and we seek to make that good fortune permanent. We do not oppose but approve collective bargaining, because that is an outstanding right, but we are unalterably insistent that its exercise must not destroy the equally sacred right of the individual, in his necessary pursuit of livelihood. Any American has the right to quit his employment, so has every American the right to seek employment. The group must not endanger the individual, and we must discourage groups preying upon one another, and none shall be allowed to forget that government's obligations are alike to all the people.

THE RAILROAD PROBLEM

I hope we may do more than merely discourage the losses and sufferings attending industrial conflict. The strike against the government is properly denied, for government service involves none of the elements of

profit which relate to competitive enterprise. There is progress in the establishment of official revealment of issues and conditions which lead to conflict, so that unerring public sentiment may speed the adjustment, but I hope for that concord of purpose, not forced but inspired by the common weal, which will give a regulated public service the fullest guaranty of continuity. I am thinking of the railroads. In modern life they are the very base of all our activities and interchanges. For public protection we have enacted laws providing for a regulation of the charge for service, a limitation on the capital invested and a limitation on capital's earnings. There remains only competition of service on which to base our hopes for an efficiency and expansion which meet our modern requirements. The railway workmen ought to be the best paid and know the best working conditions in the world. Theirs is an exceptional responsibility. They are not only essential to the life and health of all productive activities of the people, but they are directly responsible for the safety of traveling millions. The government which has assumed so much authority for the public good might well stamp railway employment with the sanctity of public service and guarantee to the railway employees that justice which voices the American conception of righteousness on the one hand, and assure continuity of service on the other.

The importance of the railway rehabilitation is so obvious that reference seems uncalled for. We are so confident that much of the present-day insufficiency and inefficiency of transportation are due to the withering hand of government operation that we emphasize

anew our opposition to government ownership, we want to expedite the reparation, and make sure the mistake is not repeated.

It is little use to recite the story of development, exploitation, government experiment and its neglect, government operation and its failures. The inadequacy of trackage and terminal facilities, the insufficiency of equipment and the inefficiency of operation all bear the blighting stamp of governmental incapacity during federal operation. The work of rehabilitation under the restoration of private ownership deserves our best encouragement. Billions are needed in new equipment, not alone to meet the growing demand for service, but to restore the extraordinary depreciation due to the strained service of war. With restricted earnings and with speculative profits removed, railway activities have come to the realm of conservative and constructive service, and the government which impaired must play its part in restoration. Manifestly the returns must be so gauged that necessary capital may be enlisted, and we must foster as well as restrain.

We have no more pressing problem. A state of inadequate transportation facilities, mainly chargeable to the failure of governmental experiment, is losing millions to agriculture, it is hindering industry, it is menacing the American people with a fuel shortage little less than a peril. It emphasizes the present-day problem and suggests that spirit of encouragement and assistance which commits all America to relieve such an emergency.

HIGHWAY DEVELOPMENT ADVOCATED

The one compensation amid attending anxieties is our new and needed realization of the vital part transportation plays in the complexities of modern life. We are not to think of rails alone, but highways from farm to market, from railway to farm, arteries of life-blood to present-day life, the quickened ways to communication and exchange, the answer of our people to the motor age. We believe in generous federal co-operation in construction, linked with assurances of maintenance that will put an end to criminal waste of public funds on the one hand and give a guaranty of upkept highways on the other.

Water transportation is inseparably linked with adequacy of facilities, and we favor American eminence on the seas, the practical development of inland waterways, the upbuilding and coordination of all to make them equal to and ready for every call of developing and widening American commerce. I like that recommendation to thoughts of America first which pledges the Panama Canal, an American creation, to the free use of American shipping. It will add to the American reawakening.

One can not speak of industry and commerce, and the transportation on which they are dependent, without an earnest thought of the abnormal cost of living and the problems in its wake. It is easy to inveigh, but that avails nothing. And it is far too serious to dismiss with flaming but futile promise.

Eight years ago, in times of peace, the Democratic party made it an issue, and when clothed with power

that party came near to its accomplishment by destroying the people's capacity to buy. But that was a cure worse than the ailment. It is easy to understand the real causes, after which the patient must help to effect his own cure.

DEFLATION OF FINANCE

Gross expansion of currency and credit have depreciated the dollar just as expansion and inflation have discredited the coins of the world. We inflated in haste, we must deflate in deliberation. We debased the dollar in reckless finance, we must restore in honesty. Deflation on the one hand and restoration of the one-hundred-cent dollar on the other ought to have begun on the day after the armistice, but plans were lacking or courage failed. The unpreparedness for peace was little less costly than unpreparedness for war.

We can promise no one remedy which will cure an ill of such wide proportions, but we do pledge that earnest and consistent attack which the party platform covenants. We will attempt intelligent and courageous deflation, and strike at government borrowing which enlarges the evil, and we will attack high cost of government with every energy and facility which attend Republican capacity. We promise that relief which will attend the halting of waste and extravagance, and the renewal of the practise of public economy, not alone because it will relieve tax burdens but because it will be an example to stimulate thrift and economy in private life.

I have already alluded to the necessity for the ful-

ness of production, and we need the fulness of service which attends the exchange of products. Let us speak the irrefutable truth, high wages and reduced cost of living are in utter contradiction unless we have the height of efficiency for wages received.

In all sincerity we promise the prevention of unreasonable profits, we challenge profiteering with all the moral force and the legal powers of government and people, but it is fair, aye, it is timely, to give reminder that law is not the sole corrective of our economic ills.

THRIFT AND ECONOMY ESSENTIAL

Let us call to all the people for thrift and economy, for denial and sacrifice if need be, for a nation-wide drive against extravagance and luxury, to a recommitment to simplicity of living, to that prudent and normal plan of life which is the health of the republic. There hasn't been a recovery from the waste and abnormalities of war since the story of mankind was first written, except through work and saving, through industry and denial, while needless spending and heedless extravagance have marked every decay in the history of nations. Give the assurance of that rugged simplicity of American life which marked the first century of amazing development and this generation may underwrite a second century of surpassing accomplishment.

The Republican party was founded by farmers, with the sensitive conscience born of their freedom and their simple lives. These founders sprang from the farms of the then Middle West. Our party has never

failed in its realization that agriculture is essentially the foundation of our very existence, and it has ever been our policy, purpose and performance to protect and promote that essential industry.

New conditions, which attend amazing growth and extraordinary industrial development, call for a new and forward-looking program. The American farmer had a hundred and twenty millions to feed in the home market, and heard the cry of the world for food and answered it, though he faced an appalling task amid handicaps never encountered before.

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION URGED

In the rise of price levels there have come increased appraisals to his acres without adding to their value in fact, but which do add to his taxes and expenses without enhancing his returns. His helpers have yielded to the lure of shop and city, until, almost alone, he has met and borne the burden of the only insistent attempts to force down prices. It challenges both the wisdom and the justice of artificial drives on prices to recall that they were effective almost solely against his products in the hands of the producer and never effective against the same products in passing to the consumer. Contemplating the defenselessness of the individual farmer to meet the organized buyers of his products and the distributors of the things the farmer buys, I hold that farmers should not only be permitted but encouraged to join in cooperative association to reap the just measure of reward merited by their arduous toil. Let us facilitate cooperation to insure against the risks attending agriculture, which the urban

world so little understands, and a like cooperation to market their products as directly as possible with the consumer, in the interests of all. Upon such association and cooperation should be laid only such restrictions as will prevent arbitrary control of our food supply and the fixing of extortionate price upon it.

Our platform is an earnest pledge of renewed concern for this most essential and elemental industry, and in both appreciation and interest we pledge effective expression in law and practise. We will hail that cooperation which again will make profitable and desirable the ownership and operation of comparatively small farms intensively cultivated, and which will facilitate the caring for the products of farm and orchard without the lamentable waste under present conditions.

America would look with anxiety on the discouragement of farming activity either through the government's neglect or its paralysis by socialistic practises. A Republican administration will be committed to renewed regard for agriculture, and seek the participation of farmers in curing the ills justly complained of, and aim to place the American farm where it ought to be—highly ranked in American activities and fully sharing the highest good fortunes of American life.

IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION

Becomingly associated with this subject are the policies of irrigation and reclamation, so essential to agricultural expansion, and the continued development of the great and wonderful West. It is our purpose to continue and enlarge federal aid, not in sectional partiality, but for the good of all America. We hold to

that harmony of relationship between conservation and development, which fittingly appraises our natural resources and makes them available to developing America of to-day, and still holds to the conserving thought for the America of to-morrow.

The federal government's relation to reclamation and development is too important to admit of ample discussion to-day. Alaska, alone, is rich in resources beyond all imagination, and needs only closer linking, through the lines of transportation and a governmental policy that both safeguards and encourages development, to speed it to a foremost position as a commonwealth, rugged in citizenship and rich in materialized resources.

These things I can only mention. Within becoming limits one can not say more. Indeed, for the present many questions of vast importance must be hastily passed, reserving a fuller discussion to suitable occasion as the campaign advances.

SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

I believe the budget system will effect a necessary, helpful reformation, and reveal business methods to government business.

I believe federal departments should be made more businesslike and send back to productive effort thousands of federal employees who are either duplicating work or not essential at all.

I believe in the protective tariff policy and know we will be calling for its saving Americanism again.

I believe in a great merchant marine—I would have this republic the leading maritime nation of the world.

I believe in a navy ample to protect it, and able to assure us dependable defense.

I believe in a small army, but the best in the world, with a mindfulness for preparedness which will avoid the unutterable cost of our previous neglect.

I believe in our eminence in trade abroad, which the government should aid in expanding, both in revealing markets and speeding cargoes.

I believe in establishing standards for immigration, which are concerned with the future citizenship of the republic, not with mere man-power in industry.

I believe that every man who dons the garb of American citizenship and walks in the light of American opportunity must become American in heart and soul.

I believe in holding fast to every forward step in unshackling child labor and elevating conditions of woman's employment.

I believe the federal government should stamp out lynching and remove that stain from the fair name of America.

I believe the federal government should give its effective aid in solving the problem of ample and becoming housing of its citizenship.

I believe this government should make its Liberty and Victory bonds worth all that its patriotic citizens paid in purchasing them.

I believe the tax burdens imposed for the war emergency must be revised to the needs of peace, and in the interest of equity in distribution of the burden.

I believe the negro citizens of America should be guaranteed the enjoyment of all their rights, that they

have earned the full measure of citizenship bestowed, that their sacrifices in blood on the battlefields of the republic have entitled them to all of freedom and opportunity, all of sympathy and aid that the American spirit of fairness and justice demands.

I believe there is an easy and open path to righteous relationship with Mexico. It has seemed to me that our undeveloped, uncertain and infirm policy has made us a culpable party to the governmental misfortunes in that land. Our relations ought to be both friendly and sympathetic; we would like to acclaim a stable government there, and offer a neighborly hand in pointing the way to greater progress. It will be simple to have a plain and neighborly understanding, merely an understanding about respecting our borders, about protecting the lives and possessions of American citizens lawfully within the Mexican dominions. There must be that understanding, else there can be no recognition, and then the understanding must be faithfully kept.

Many of these declarations deserve a fuller expression, with some suggestions of plans to emphasize the faith. Such expression will follow, in due time, I promise you.

IMPORTANCE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

I believe in law enforcement. If elected I mean to be a constitutional president, and it is impossible to ignore the Constitution, unthinkable to evade the law, when our very committal is to orderly government. People ever will differ about the wisdom of the enactment of a law—there is divided opinion respecting the eighteenth amendment and the laws enacted to make it

operative—but there can be no difference of opinion about honest law enforcement.

Neither government nor party can afford to cheat the American people. The laws of Congress must harmonize with the Constitution, else they soon are adjudged to be void; Congress enacts the laws, and the executive branch of government is charged with enforcement. We can not nullify because of divided opinion, we can not jeopardize orderly government with contempt for law enforcement. Modification or repeal is the right of a free people, whenever the deliberate and intelligent public sentiment commands, but perversion and evasion mark the paths to the failure of government itself.

TRIBUTE TO WORLD WAR VETERANS

Though not in any partisan sense, I must speak of the services of the men and women who rallied to the colors of the republic in the world war. America realizes and appreciates the services rendered, the sacrifices made and the sufferings endured. There shall be no distinction between those who knew the perils and glories of the battle front or the dangers of the sea, and those who were compelled to serve behind the lines, or those who constituted the great reserve of a grand army which awaited the call in camps at home.

All were brave, all were sacrificing, all were sharers of those ideals which sent our boys thrice-armed to war. Worthy sons and daughters, these, fit successors to those who christened our banners in the immortal beginning, worthy sons of those who saved the Union and nationality when civil war wiped the ambiguity,

from the Constitution, ready sons of those who drew the sword for humanity's sake the first time in the world, in 1898.

The four million defenders on land and sea were worthy of the best traditions of a people never warlike in peace and never pacifist in war. They commanded our pride, they have our gratitude, which must have genuine expression. It is not only a duty, it is a privilege to see that the sacrifices made shall be requited, and that those still suffering from casualties and disabilities shall be abundantly aided and restored to the highest capabilities of citizenship and its enjoyment.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The womanhood of America, always its glory, its inspiration and the potent, uplifting force in its social and spiritual development, is about to be enfranchised. Insofar as Congress can go, the fact is already accomplished. By party edict, by my recorded vote, by personal conviction I am committed to this measure of justice. It is my earnest hope, my sincere desire that the one needed state vote be quickly recorded in the affirmation of the right of equal suffrage and that the vote of every citizen shall be cast and counted in the approaching election.

Let us not share the apprehensions of many men and women as to the danger of this momentous extension of the franchise. Women have never been without influence in our political life. Enfranchisement will bring to the polls the votes of citizens who have been born upon our soil, or who have sought in faith and as-

surance the freedom and opportunities of our land. It will bring the women educated in our schools, trained in our customs and habits of thought, and sharers of our problems. It will bring the alert mind, the awakened conscience, the sure intuition, the abhorrence of tyranny or oppression, the wide and tender sympathy that distinguish the women of America. Surely there can be no danger there.

And to the great number of noble women who have opposed in conviction the tremendous change in the ancient relation of the sexes as applied to government, I venture to plead that they will accept the full responsibility of enlarged citizenship and give to the best in the republic their suffrage and support.

CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA

Much has been said of late about world ideals, but I prefer to think of the ideal for America. I like to think there is something more than the patriotism and practical wisdom of the founding fathers. It is good to believe that maybe destiny held this New-World republic to be the supreme example of representative democracy and orderly liberty by which humanity is inspired to higher achievement. It is idle to think we have attained perfection, but there is the satisfying knowledge that we hold orderly processes for making our government reflect the heart and mind of the republic. Ours is not only a fortunate people but a very common-sensical people, with vision high but their feet on the earth, with belief in themselves and faith in God. Whether enemies threaten from without or menaces arise from within, there is some indefinable voice

saying: "Have confidence in the republic! America will go on!"

Here is a temple of liberty no storms may shake, here are the altars of freedom no passions shall destroy. It was American in conception, American in its building, it shall be American in the fulfillment. Sectional once, we are all American now, and we mean to be all Americans to all the world.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, my countrymen all: I would not be my natural self if I did not utter my consciousness of my limited ability to meet your full expectations, or to realize the aspirations within my own breast, but I will gladly give all that is in me, all of heart, soul and mind and abiding love of country, to service in our common cause. I can only pray to the omnipotent God that I may be as worthy in service as I know myself to be faithful in thought and purpose. One can not give more. Mindful of the vast responsibilities I must be frankly humble, but I have that confidence in the consideration and support of all true Americans which makes me wholly unafraid. With an unalterable faith and in a hopeful spirit, with a hymn of service in my heart, I pledge fidelity to our country and to God, and accept the nomination of the Republican party for the presidency of the United States.

CHAPTER III

SAFEGUARDING AMERICA

*Address on the League of Nations in the United States
Senate, September 11, 1919*

MR. PRESIDENT—If it were not for seeming indifference in an hour of imperiled nationality, I believe I should be content to rest my expression as to the pending treaty wholly on the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations. I say this with propriety, I think, because I had no part in its writing, though I was a participant in the conclusions reached. My judgment is that it is one of the American documents well worthy of preservation.

Mr. President, every day of discussion, presidential utterances included, and every hour of study combine to persuade me that the league of nations venture in the form in which the covenant has been negotiated is one of peril to the republic. To accept it unaltered would be a betrayal of America. It is not for me to consider constitutional inhibitions. There is probably nothing to prevent a nation undertaking self-destruction by indirection or otherwise if the treaty-making powers are in accord about the desirability of such a course. Nor is it for me to discuss the finer points involved in international law and diplomatic niceties, because once the league is established it becomes the

maker of international law and diplomacy ends in league autocracy.

NATIONALITY IS PARAMOUNT

Such impressions as I wish to offer are the very simple ones of an American who is jealous of the republic's nationality and fears paralysis in that internationality which is the league's loftiest aim. Submerged nationality and supreme internationality are more to be expected than the proclaimed permanency of peace, which first caught the sympathy and support of a peace-loving world.

Mr. President, I know the natural aspirations of civilized humanity and share them. I know how the heart of the world, torn and bleeding and anguished and palpitant in the cataclysmal war, throbs in hunger for assured tranquillity. I pity him who has not felt the yearnings within his own breast. No real American is so bereft of feeling. There is no monopoly of the love of peace, and there is no exclusiveness in concern for humanity's sake. Neither is there a limited circle of those who act in patriotic devotion nor restricted groups in loving our common country. I say these perfectly obvious things because it is time to clear up some mistaken impressions. The proponents of the Wilsonian league of nations have no more claim to an exclusive desire for the peace of our country and the world than the opponents of this league have exclusive claim to patriotic devotion to our own nation. And the considerable numbers who are grieving that there is involved in the treaty-making

power of a portion of the Senate which is impelled by partisan bias ought to revise their judgment, because it is as unfair and uncomplimentary to one side as the other and challenges the wisdom of popular government. However, if disagreement with the executive, now that the war is won, is to invite the charge of narrow partisanship, I welcome it and am content to let it go at that.

INVOLVEMENTS OF LEAGUE

It was the truth, last year, two years ago, three and four years ago, the people of this country were heedlessly and overwhelmingly for a league of nations, or a society of nations, or a world court, or some international association which should develop a fraternity of action among civilized peoples and save humanity not only from the sorrows and sufferings like those which came with the war now ended, but from the involvements of which we are not yet emerged. Many leaders of the party represented on this side of the chamber were conspicuous in its advocacy, and thousands less notable joined the chorus. Among the latter I joined in writing a favoring declaration in the platform of the Republican party in Ohio, which I think fairly voiced the aspirations of the people of that state. In the popular thought was the wish to abolish war and promote peace and make justice supreme, and it was believed that the world, war wearied and drenched with the blood of millions of devoted nationalists, would be ready for the committal. Our people were thinking of the thing desired, and never pondered the method or the cost of its making. Nobody stopped

to think of the involvements then. We are only learning them now.

It would have been well to have counseled with one another before the covenant was fashioned. The people voted such a preference most emphatically last November. Most people thought there would be counseling, and it ought to have been done. When the armistice brought humanity's greatest sigh of relief since fellowship engirdled the earth, it was the common thought that sympathy would inspire and justice would impel and safety would demand some created agency of the conscience of the world that should contribute to the furtherance of peace and maintained tranquillity. But the immediate task was the settlement of the war suspended by the armistice. The manifest yearning was for recovery from madness and destruction and waste and disorder, and the instincts of self-preservation called for speedy restoration. No one doubted that the measureless cost and unspeakable suffering would awaken the consciences of nations to take stock of their relationships and readjust them to guard against recurrent horrors. But the pressing call was for peace, peace among the belligerent powers, peace for convalescence, peace for deliberation, peace for that understanding which is the first essential in undertaking a world-wide covenant which mankind had never effected heretofore.

AMERICA ESSENTIAL FACTOR IN WAR

No one can doubt the advantageous position of this republic when the armistice was signed. We had proven our unselfishness. We alone had not won the

war, but our entrance into the conflict in April, 1917, saved the waning morale of allied nations which bore the brunt of German attack, and our first expeditionary forces in the summer of 1917 revived the drooping spirits of the fighting forces of France and England, and in 1918 the sons of this republic turned the sweeping tide of battle backward. It is not unseemly to say our forces were an absolutely essential factor in the winning, though our 2,000,000 of fighting and irresistible Americans were only a partial expression of our resources and our resolution that Germany and her allies must be brought to terms. It is a glorious record which calls for no recital here. I am trying only to call to mind our advantageous position—the gratitude of the powers with whom we were associated, the belated realization and respect of the Central Powers, the tardy awakening of Germany, who learned the lesson that Americans could and would fight, and the world's understanding of our unselfishness in the defense of our national rights.

The loftiness of our position was correctly and creditably appraised, notwithstanding the excessive proclamation of democracy and humanity. The latter was mainly for home consumption. It may be taken as one of the inevitable things in popular government, it was distinctly a symptom of our neglect of the American spirit. Those who stop to analyze know, of course, that if the German assault had been aimed at the world's democracy—our defense of democracy ought to have answered with every American gun when Belgium was invaded. And the same analytical thought must have persuaded the thinking American

that if it was our duty to make war for humanity's sake, duty called loudly above the horrified exclamation of the world when the *Lusitania* was sunk without pity for dying humanity on her unsuspecting decks. I am not indulging in belated complaint, because I knew the tremendous seriousness of plunging the republic in war, and I knew then our unreadiness of spirit for such a committal. The point I am aiming at is to clarify our purpose in entering the war in order to emphasize our favorable position when it came to an end. The everlasting truth is that we were lashed by German ruthlessness to a defense of our national rights, and we did defend them, until Germany's power for ruthlessness has been destroyed beyond recovery for generations to come. We defended only our rights, and we know now, if we did not realize before, that the nation which does not defend its national rights does not deserve to survive. We did not ask more, except to help in righteous restoration, and the world correctly appraised the unselfishness which marked our efforts.

COUNSEL NEEDED AT PEACE CONFERENCE

It was a very simple course to have taken. Ours was a commanding voice in the adjustments of peace, willingly and gladly heeded. It was ours to pass judgment on the terms of peace and speed their conclusion. I must confess, Senators, I could find no fault with the president going to the peace table. The world had never seen before such an opportunity for service, and I thought it fitting that the first citizen of the republic should go and utter the unbiased advice of America.

amid the embitterments and prejudices that had grown out of twenty centuries of European conflict. I do not share the criticism that he invited no members of this body, which must approve every treaty to which the republic is committed. I do complain that in this most extraordinary and unparalleled wreck in the wake of world-wide war he consented to counsel and advise with none who have sworn duties to perform, and devoted, essentially alone, his talents and his supreme influence to reformations and restitutions, and the establishment of governments and the realizations of ambitions and the fulfillment of dreams which human struggles and battling peoples and heroic sacrifices have not effected since the world began, and never will be realized until that millennial day that marks the beginning of heaven on earth. The situation presented intensely practical problems, and he clung mainly to lofty theories.

Sometimes I think a very capable writer of history is very much spoiled for the making of it. I can recall now my reverent regard for Julius Cæsar when I struggled with his recital of the wars in Gaul. It required a wider reading before I realized that the great commoner of that day was making history and recording it for the effect it might and did have south of the Rubicon. It is easy to understand the perfectly natural and laudable ambition to do the superlative thing which history is waiting to record, which superlative thing was in the historian's mind, but it needed penetrating vision to meet the pressing, practical problems which were awaiting solution, by very practical men.

SECRET BARTERING UNHEEDED

One can conceive the idealist who is blind to the bald realities of secret covenants and selfish bartering incident to the alliances wrought amid the anxieties and necessities of so stupendous a war. Nations were battling for their very existence, and they made pledges with little reckoning of the future. It was assumed our government knew the details, but the assumption was a mistaken one. The president frankly said he did not know. Merely fighting in our own defense, it was excusable for us not to know, for we should have given to our utmost of lives and treasure regardless of the aftermath. But in joining the struggle professedly for democracy's sake, we ought to have had some forecast of democracy's fate in the pregnant aftermath. More, to meddle effectively in the affairs of the world, we ought to have known the world's promises. Herein lies the weakness of our whole part at the peace table.

The war had its inception in German ambition, expanded domain, if not world domination, all conceived in drunkenness with power. It was met in self-defense—righteous self-defense—but there was inevitable consideration of the spoils of victory. They became the inspiration and considerations of alliances, and there were understandings, written and unwritten. We should be blind not to recognize the necessity and naturalness of it. The pity is that we did not recognize the evident truth and speak with the confident voice of justice, and hold ourselves aloof from any committal which savored of unrighteousness. If

Europe, in the stress of war or out of it, will barter in territories and peoples, we can not hinder, but we need not approve and surely we must not guarantee.

AMERICA'S INTERESTS IGNORED

Whether the president knew the details of negotiated selfishness while the war was raging, it was inevitable that he soon learned when he made his triumphant landing on the friendly soil of France. It was not then too late to hold aloof. We were seeking only peace. We sought no territory, no mandatory, no reparation—nothing was asked. Our unselfishness was genuine, to the everlasting honor of this republic. But the glory of the league of nations—an appealing conception—filled the American commission's vision, while distinctly American interests—aye, sacred American interests—were ignored and forgotten in a new and consuming concern for the world.

Empires and sovereign states, autocratic, imperial, or democratic, had fought and sacrificed and bargained and covenanted—and we had fought with them—and they craved peace and we craved peace. But they wanted annexations and extensions and creations, and they wanted this republic, with its resources—with its wealth of men and materials—to guarantee the changes they had wrought, and wanted the United States of America in their unselfishness to guarantee in perpetuity the selfishness of the Old World.

NOTHING SUBSTANTIAL OFFERED

They had nothing to offer us but the phantasmal thing, taking the elusory shape of the image of peace,

a promise deeply appealing to the aspirations of ourselves and the world, for tranquillity and the banishment of war. And we bargained for it, and then they fashioned it into a reality, suited to serve Europe and the Orient as the seal of righteousness on all to which the allied powers had agreed.

Mr. President, I grant the worthiness, the loftiness of the ideal when we look above and beyond the immorality which it cloaks. One must concede the good which is aimed at. No one who is sincere can question the desirability of closer fraternity among the nations of the earth. No thoughtful citizen of any country will dispute the need of the clarification and codification of international law. Such a thing might have saved us from involvement in the European war, unless Germany was madly determined to effect her own destruction.

SUPERGOVERNMENT CREATED

International arbitration and a world court for justiciable disputes appeal to all who think justice is sustained in reason rather than in armed dispute. The establishment of an agency for the revelation of the moral judgment of the world can never be amiss. These things might well have come out of the combined consciences of the nations awakened to new ideals amid the sufferings of war, and they will yet come. But it does not require a supergovernment to effect them, nor the surrender of nationality and independence of action to sanction them.

It is my deliberate conviction that the league of nations covenant, as negotiated at Paris and signed at

Versailles, either creates a supergovernment of the nations which enter it or it will prove the colossal disappointment of the ages. Though it would be vastly more serious as the former, I can not believe this republic ought to sanction it in either case. Why proclaim a promise that will embitter the world's disappointment?

DISARMAMENT NOT ACCOMPLISHED

Let us note, first, the probability of disappointment. Does it effect disarmament? The member nations decide for themselves the necessary size of their armed forces, which are not to be increased except with the league's approval. Of course there is to be studied recommendation for reduction, but any two powers in concerted action may reject the entire program. Who has heard of a proposal to diminish the great British navy, which holds Great Britain undisputed mistress of the world's seas? Few will question Great Britain's wisdom in her well-known attitude. Surely no British subject will question it. She has an empire to defend and a commerce to guard, without which England's glory is at an end.

Only a few days ago the cabled news told us that France will maintain a larger army than that republic possessed when she entered the world war. Doubtless France's security demands it, in spite of the negotiated alliance which calls the United States and Great Britain to her aid in case of a renewed German assault. We know little about Japan, but we do know that Japan may fix her own limitations as to army and

navy, "taking into account geographical conditions and national safety," until under this treaty we give our sons and our resources to the enforcement of international agreements by common action under articles 8 and 10.

Is disarmament looming as a hope realized? Look for an instant at home. With the league confidently expected, with all its blessings of peace, limited only by "interpretations," we are contemplating an army of half a million, seven times our previous establishment in peace, and the men, in Congress or out, who would cut our program for an expanded navy are few and far between. More, the man who would suggest it would be unmindful of our security. Verily, he who sees world disarmament in this league covenant has a faith which surpasses understanding.

ARBITRATION NOT ASSURED

Will nations arbitrate their differences under the league covenant? They will if both parties to the dispute are agreed, and they can not do that without it. Under the covenant one party may decline, then the council takes the case, and we have recently come to know the recommendations of the council constitute its judgment only as to a "moral" obligation.

We have heard much lately about "moral" obligations. When a thing is covenanted it is difficult for me to distinguish between moral and legal obligation. For this republic either or both ought to be solemnly binding. The nation which ignores either is losing the conscience which is essential to self-respect and

respect among nations. It was Germany's contempt for a "scrap of paper" that made her an outcast in the eyes of the civilized world.

There has been a curious conflict of meaning in the use of the word "moral." When senators, speaking in this chamber in defense of the league covenant, found opposition developing to the powers conveyed in article 10, they hastened to say the council's call to war, armed or economic, in defense of any member was not binding—"only a moral obligation." I have heard the term quoted again and again and in the recorded conference between members of the Foreign Relations Committee and the president it was declared by the president that we were not bound to go to war on recommendation of the council, that there was "only a moral obligation," on which we should have to pass judgment for ourselves. Later on, in the record of the meeting, the president emphatically declared a moral obligation the most binding of all. Let every man make the distinction that he prefers. A contract is a contract, a covenant is a covenant, and if this republic does not mean to do as it promises, it has no business to make the promise.

ARTICLE TEN MERE PHANTOM

There is no language in the covenant more plain than article 10. Either it means what it says, and obligates the member nations to go to war in defense of a member nation, or it means nothing at all. If it leaves any member nation free to exercise its own judgment as to the merits of any attack, it does not guarantee the territorial integrity or peace of any nation. It is

worse than phantom ; it is the mirage that lures nations thirsting for peace to the very desert of cruel destruction. The pity of it is that no reservation will cure the ill. Without the power, which is clearly expressed, "the league is a rope of sand," as the senator from Connecticut described it, and with the power established, as it must be to make the league effective, we have surrendered our own freedom of action to a council whose members will represent the prejudices, ambitions, hatreds, and jealousies of the Old World, or to the assembly, where we are outvoted six to one by Great Britain and her colonies, and we still remain a party to the racial, geographical, and inherited enmities of Europe and the Orient.

Many have written me, and senators have spoken and the president has argued, that we are no longer isolated from the Old World, that we have a duty to humanity, and we can not escape our manifest duty to world civilization. It is urged that we struck down the barriers when we sent the sons of the republic to war, and there can be no withdrawal now. One can not dispute our ever-widening influence ; none would narrow it. It began when we unsheathed the sword literally in behalf of humanity for the first time in the world. That was when we went to war to liberate Cuba and expanded to the Philippines. It is easy to recall the outcry against imperialism then by the very adherents of world sponsorship to-day—aye, by those who only three years ago would have furled the flag there, and promise it now, after our contribution to one defenseless people's progress unmatched in all history.

FOUGHT FOR AMERICAN RIGHTS

Ours is truly an expanded influence and a world interest, but there is yet for us a splendid isolation. The sons of America, 2,000,000 of them, crossed the seas in spite of submarine ruthlessness and every danger Germany could devise, and 2,000,000 more were ready, and 5,000,000 more would have prepared if needed, and they heroically fought and effectively taught arrogant Germany to respect American rights and left a wholesome impress on the remainder of the world. The soldiers have in the main returned, and, having accomplished our righteous purpose, it was vastly more easy to have severed our involvement than it was to bring the boys home and turn to the pursuits of peace again. The people of this republic were not concerned with governing the universe. Their interests, their hearts, their hopes, their ambitions, their weal or woe—all of these are in the United States of America. We wanted nothing abroad but respect for our just rights, and that we mean to have, in peace or war, no matter who threatens.

It would have been so easy, if our commission had thought of America first, to have said to the allied powers, "Look here, friends and allies—yes, and to enemies as well—we came over and helped you bring an outlaw to terms, because he trespassed our rights beyond endurance. He is humbled now, and it is yours to restore order and make a just and abiding peace. We want peace, and we want to go to work and replace the waste of war. We will advise, if we can and you wish it, but we are asking nothing, and

we will go back home and see to our own affairs. We do not mean to mix in again, unless some bully in making a row infringes our rights and murders our citizens and destroys our lawful property. In that event we will be forced to come back, but we will come more promptly the next time." That would have left a good impression, and we would have been at peace, and so would Europe, months ago.

Mr. President, the first official of our government is touring the country to invite the people of the republic, the great mass whose heart is ever right in ultimate decision, to the support of this untouchable and unamendable and supposedly sacred document. He visited the capital of the state which I have the honor to represent, and was received with the respect becoming his great office, and was applauded, as often happens to appealing speech, of which he is the master. He has spoken and is speaking elsewhere, and the people of our state are reading, in common with the reading people of America. I am not finding fault with the tour, even if it is not wholly purposed to promote the league covenant. One may not assume that it involves a feeling of the political pulse of the country, but if it is, if it is to test popular feeling about putting the presidency permanently in the hands of one equipped to direct the world aright and at the same time merge this republic in a supergovernment of the world, my partisan prejudices would be rejoicing. But the president told the reverent people of Ohio that he had only to report to them—in a broad sense, the people—and it so happens that I, too, as insignificant as my position is, relatively, have to report

to the same people, and I want them to have not only the truth but all the truth; not only fine generalities but illuminating details.

MANY PEOPLES NOT HEARD

Mr. President, the treaty is being expounded by its chief author to the people with vastly more freedom of utterance than this body has known, notwithstanding our solemn responsibility in making it a binding covenant on the part of this republic. Perhaps it does not matter, because we have before us the treaty itself, and we know what it says, though we do not have all the collateral covenants and do not know all to which we are pledged or to what ratification commits us. Yet we have had the advantage, or disadvantage, if you prefer, of hearing also from others of the peace commission, from experts who drafted many of its articles, and alas, we have heard from many who spoke for those who pleaded for their rights at Paris and who declared they were not heard, no matter what is said now about this being the first consecration of international conscience to the rights of helpless peoples and small nations.

Let me digress for a moment to suggest some of my own impressions gathered during the hearings granted to the American representatives of the aspiring peoples of Europe and Asia and Egypt, whose aspirations and long-deferred hopes of liberty and nationality are alleged to have been safeguarded in this supercreation of humanity. It was futile, of course, for a Senate committee to assume to answer prayers or comply with protest, for our function is not

one of negotiation. However, there were citizens crying to be heard, after a denial at the fount of justice in Europe, and we listened. They begged amendment or rejection to save their liberties or to preserve their nationalities or to maintain their homogeneous peoples. Spokesmen for China cried out against the rape of the first great democracy of the Orient, and the plea was eloquent with recited sacrifices and noble assistance in the winning of the war. We uttered our chagrin that the spokesmen for the American conscience—aye, for the “conscience of civilization”—had sanctioned the confessed immorality of the Shantung award to satisfy a secret covenant against which we righteously proclaimed, and we did all we can do to right the wrong.

We heard the Americans speaking for their kinsmen of Greece, our allies in war, protesting the award of Thrace and its Greek peoples to Bulgaria who fought for German domination. We listened to those who were Croats or Slovenes or Serbs utter their despair over “the rectifications of history” under territorial awards arrived at for Jugo-Slavia, and Americans of Italian origin or ancestry presented the appeals of Italians for unsevered relationship from the motherland. More, Americans who originated in Egypt, with its traditions and ancient civilization, begged that we shall not sanction their transfer from Turkey and Germany to Great Britain, but save them their inherited freedom and their right to becoming aspirations. Hungarians prayed for restored enfranchisement amid the racial inspiration of the Magyars; and the irrepressible advocates of Irish freedom made the

plea before the Senate Committee which could not be heard at Paris. I have not named them all, but enough to reveal the utter futility, the hopeless impracticability of this republic attempting to right the cumulative wrongs of history and satisfy the perfectly natural ambitions and aspirations of races and peoples. One can not wave the wand of democracy, even of excessively proclaimed American democracy, and do for Poland in a day or a year or a generation what centuries of sacrifice and warfare and self-determination have not done.

AVENUE TO UNENDING WAR

Does any thinking man stop to measure the colossal and endless involvement before which the sublimest unselfishness and most confident altruism must falter? Contemplate for a moment only the mandatory for Armenia. It is very appealing to portray the woes, the outrages, the massacres, the awakening hopes of Armenia, and visualize the doubts and distresses and sacrificed lives while "the Senate waits." I know the appeal that touches the heart of Christian America in its concern and sympathy for Armenia. It easily may be made to seem as if the sympathetic Son of God had turned to the omnipotent Father to send this twentieth-century defender of the New Testament to succor those stricken believers in the great Trinity. But the big, warning truth is little proclaimed. Our armies—sons of this republic, the youths from American homes—are wanted there. Armenia calls and Great Britain is urging, insisting. A hundred thousand soldiers are needed. More American soldiers for

Armenia than we heretofore maintained under the flag in any of the years of peace. Answer the call, and we station this American army at the gateway between Orient and Occident, to become involved in every conflict in the Old World, and our splendid isolation becomes a memory and our boasted peace a mockery. This is not the way to peace. This is the avenue to unending war.

Mr. President, I am not insensible to the sufferings of Armenia, nor am I deaf to the wails forced by the cruelties of barbarity wherever our ideals of civilization are not maintained. But I am thinking of America first. Safety, as well as charity, begins at home. Selfishness? No. It is self-preservation. Measureless as our resources are, large as our man power is, and chivalrous as our purposes may be, we are not strong enough to assume sponsorship for all the oppressed of the world. No people, no nation is strong enough for such a supreme responsibility. We in America have the republic to preserve. And in this very program of meddlesome assumption, in some instances bordering on presumption, we are endangering our own republic. It is not alone the abandonment of security, so much warned against by the founding fathers, which suggests alarm. I am thinking of divided citizenship at home that must attend our attempted reorganization of the world.

Turn back for a moment to the appealing citizens who appeared before the Foreign Relations Committee in prayer or protest. They fairly represented a large proportion of American citizenship. We have no racial entity in this republic. We are polyglot of tongue,

which generations will not wholly change. The involvement in the world war found us divided in spirit. The founding fathers were eager to share their freedom and speed development of our incalculable resources, and they asked the world to come, and the world did come—the oppressed, the adventurous, the industrious; but there was neglected consecration of citizenship.

TO PRESERVE AMERICANISM

In the travail of war the American soul was born, and we have preached and practised Americanization ever since, and we mean to go on and make this republic American in fact as well as in name. No republic can endure half loyal and half disloyal; no citizenship is of permanent value whose heart is not in America. I had thought the war worth all it cost, in spite of its unutterable expenditure in lives and treasure, to have found ourselves. It was an inspiration to find the adopted sons of the republic consecrated to the common cause. Yet, sirs, the unhappy aftermath is resurrecting the old lines of divided citizenship. We are restoring hyphenism under internationalism.

One can not complain at the revealment, but I am lamenting the cause. It is all directly traceable to our assumption of world sponsorship. One can little blame the American of Italian origin for being concerned about the affairs of those bound by ties of blood, or find fault with the American of Greek origin for deep feelings about the fate of those of kin in Thrace, or criticize the American son of the old sod who finds in his heart an undying echo of the Irish cry for free-

dom. Instead of effacing the native interest, instead of merging the inherited soul in exclusive Americanism, we have already embarked on a program that awakens every racial pride, every Old-World prejudice, every inherited aspiration, and are rending the concord of American spirit which once promised to be the great compensation for all our sacrifices. This is no idle fancy. Justice, only simple justice, and liberty, God's own bequest of liberty, were on every lip, and there was no perfunctory utterances among those who appealed to the Senate through our committee. There was deep feeling no words could belie and that sincerity for which men die, and as I listened I deplored the eloquence of speech unperformed, which leads hope to flame high, then die in disappointment. And, sirs, I doubly deplored the proposals and pretenses that open anew the cleavage in the consecration of our adopted American citizenship.

WHY AMERICA ENTERED WAR

Senators, it is a great thing to be eloquent and persuasive in speech, but it is also a very dangerous thing. I mean to be quite as respectful as I am sincere when I say that our present involvement and our further entanglement and most of the world's restlessness and revolution and threatened revolution are largely traceable to pre-war utterances and war-time pronouncements. Once before in this chamber I challenged some of the statements as to why we went to war. I speak of it again now, because the president told the people of my state that our soldiers were "drafted for the very purpose of ending war," and

this league as negotiated is the only thing that will do it. It does not seem to have occurred to any one that we might appeal to the pride of the peoples of the earth. Still more recently a very eminent authority has proclaimed all opponents of the covenant as "contemptible quitters if they do not see the game through."

Mr. President, I turned to the *Record* of Congress for that fateful 6th of April, 1917, when this body voted the declaration of war against Germany. It had occurred to me that perhaps the resolution itself would give the official reason for going to war, as Congress would prefer history to record it. I turned to the preamble to the official declaration, and there is given the reason in the simplest language that words can express:

"Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America, therefore be it resolved,"

And so forth.

There is the whole story. Nothing there especially proclaiming democracy or humanity, because both had been fighting, sacrificing, and dying for more than two and a half years and we neither saw nor heard.

PROCLAMATION OF NEUTRALITY RECALLED

Let me clarify by further quotation from the president. I omit the official proclamation of neutrality in August of 1914, but want to reveal the conscience of America as spoken by him in the following January, when Belgium was devastated and France was bleed-

ing, and Britain was sacrificing her volunteer defenders. I quote from a speech made at Indianapolis, scene of the more recent admonition to "put up or shut up." Search the quotation for democracy, humanity, "the end of all war," or "the rectified wrongs of history":

"Only America at peace! Among all the great powers of the world only America saving her power for her own people. Do you not think it likely that the world will some time turn to America and say, 'You were right and we were wrong. You kept your head when we lost ours.'"—The President, Indianapolis, January 8, 1915.

More than three months passed, and still the conscience of the republic was unchanged. I quote from the New York speech of the chief executive, delivered on April 20, 1915:

"I am interested in neutrality because there is something so much greater to do than fight; there is a distinction waiting for this nation that no nation ever got. That is the distinction of absolute self-control and self-mastery."

Let us as an act of courtesy, pass the Philadelphia address, delivered three days after the *Lusitania* sinking, when humanity's cry was muffled by the ocean's depths and democracy was too shocked to speak. In December we still "stood apart, studiously neutral—it was our manifest duty." Thus the president spoke. But it is especially interesting to quote from an address delivered at Des Moines, Iowa, on February 1, 1916,

at the same place where the "quitters" were so recently gibbeted:

"There are actually men in America who are preaching war, who are preaching the duty of the United States to do what it never would before—seek entanglements in the controversies which have arisen on the other side of the water—abandon its habitual and traditional policy and deliberately engage in the conflict which is engulfing the rest of the world. I do not know what the standards of citizenship of these gentlemen may be. I only know that I for one can not subscribe to those standards."

It was an unspeakable thing to abandon our "habitual and traditional policy" and seek entanglements in Old-World controversies then, when actual conflict was threatening our very safety, but "only the selfishness or ignorance or a spirit of Bolshevism" is debating it now. Surely the American people will not compare without understanding.

FORCED TO DECLARE WAR

We went to war precisely for the reason uttered in the preamble which I quoted, forced to action by the conscience and self-respect of the American people. Perhaps the people were greater than their government in conscience and self-respect, but they were not great enough to overcome the costly months of delay. But once we were committed it was unalterable. "Quitters" in Congress? They were trampled deep beneath the forward march. Congress submerged itself, abdicated, to give limitless power to the com-

mander in chief. No finer surrender of power is recorded in history, no lawful dictatorship offers parallel in the story of free government. I am not complaining, I am commending! It was necessary to speed the winning.

"Quitters" among the people? Not one among the millions of patriotic Americans. We pledged all we had, our wealth, our lives, our sacred honor. It was the committal unalterable. Germany was making war on us, and had to be brought to terms. Let me record it for all time—the unquitting resolution of these United States. Suppose poor, weak but proud and brave Serbia had been trampled to earth and utterly destroyed; suppose brave heroic Belgium had been driven wholly into the sea and none but her enslaved people remained to cherish the story of her opening guns of defense; suppose Italy, resolute and courageous, in spite of her difficulties, had been brought to terms; suppose Russia in her betrayal had joined her German masters and sought to destroy the world's civilization as she did her own; suppose noble, heroic, self-sacrificing, respiritualized France had been brought to her knees, wounded unto death; suppose determined, fearless and powerful Great Britain had been starved and brought to terms as the Central Powers had planned; suppose all these disasters had attended, then, even then, this republic would have gone on and on and on until Germany was brought to terms, because without established American rights there could be no American nation, and we had rather perish than fail to maintain them.

OUR TASK COMPLETED

No, Senators, there were no "quitters" after the task was once assumed. We finished in triumph. An arrogant, offending military Germany is no more. That job was well done. But after it was done, having no concern for Europe's affairs, seeking nothing of territory, nothing of reparation—and getting none, let it be said—the sons of the republic wanted to come home, and the people of the United States wanted them home, and it was in the great heart of the republic to turn to the restoration, reestablish our normal pursuits, and make the earliest recovery possible from the ravages and extravagances and wastes and sorrows of war.

That is not a "quitter's" program. That was distinctly and becomingly the American policy, the wish of highest American devotion. We had never entered any alliances. The treaty speaks again and again of the "principal allied and associated powers." We were the "associated power," because when Germany committed her acts of war against us, we joined the warfare of the Allies against her and made common cause against the common enemy. We had no compacts, no covenants, no secret arrangements. Alas! We did not even know the secret agreements the Allies had. It would have little mattered, perhaps, had we not proclaimed overmuch against secret agreements and proposed a new birth for all the world.

We did cooperate. We fought under French command, and our soldiers were comrades to French, to Italian, to Belgian, and to British, because we were

battling for the defeat of a common enemy. We paid our own way to the last farthing. We gave of treasure without reckoning, and Americans died not as allies but as Americans. That was the one supreme consolation in every hero's last living thought. Crusaders, seeking a human relationship that God Himself hath not wrought? No! They were heroic defenders of these United States.

NOT COMMITTED TO LEAGUE

It may be recorded, Senators, that America finished the task for which her sons were sent to Europe, and the unfinished work which is now alleged is an afterthought, to which America was never committed, about which our people were never consulted, concerning which our very peace commissioners were not advised. No one questions the lofty aims of President Wilson, no one would hinder consistent endeavor for all desirable attainment. No one opposes because the American participation is exclusively Wilsonian, or because the covenant is of British conception. It is the covenant itself and the effect of our committal which calls for consideration.

It is appropriate, however, to dispel some of the illusions about it being the expressed hope and guaranteed security of small nations and struggling peoples. They had no voice in its making. Their protests were stifled at the moment of its adoption. Eyewitnesses to the submission of this super-concept to the peace commissioners testify that this "covenant is a perversion of what men who really favored a league of nations intended and wished for." I quote Mr. Frank P.

Walsh, once its ardent supporter, now protesting its adoption. When Mr. Walsh appeared before our committee he was asked if the assembled peace commissioners, representing nations, great or small, expressed any surprise when the covenant was presented. Mr. Walsh replied:

"Oh, it was very marked. They jumped up all over the place to make protests. Man after man got up. You know there was an awful censorship upon this whole business."

AUTOCRACY OF PEACE

There was no debate. It was the offering of the big four, the autocracy of peace, not submitted to debate by the commissioners signing, and is now too sacred for modification by this body which must speak for America. I believe it designed to establish supergovernment, and no explanation nor apology has altered my opinion. It may consider any questions affecting the affairs of the world, and the council's decision is a binding thing, else language has no dependable meaning. Supergovernment was the great dream, and the very essentials of supergovernment were incorporated. If one believes in surrendered nationality, if one prefers world citizenship to American citizenship, which I delight to boast, the covenant is ideal. But it ends democracy instead of promoting it, and it means international autocracy for all who accept it without specific reservations.

The authority, as written, is limitless. Any national sovereignty may be invaded. The authority which can prevent war can make it, and it will. The president

has said the council may even consider internal controversies which threaten world peace, and he holds out the promise that the league will correct the injustices of the peace commission which created it. If that does not mean the assumption of power to extend to limitless authority, the promise is not sincere. On the other hand, it means abandoned self-determination for every member nation, and unending interference and invited conflict with nations outside the autocratic circle.

NATIONALITY SACRIFICED

No one has made the venture to estimate our possible obligations. Only last Saturday the cable told us how a member of the French chamber of deputies had advocated that the league of nations should assume a proportion of the French war debt. It does not matter that we renounced all reparation ourselves, it does not matter that we expended without measure, it nevertheless appears that in the new idealism there is a "touch" of the practical. Europe is calling for our soldiers and we are sending, though our task was ended last November. Europe wants our sponsorship, to enforce the new alignments, and wants our treasure to lighten her own burdens. Involvement piles upon involvement and responsibility upon responsibility, until independence of action fades into precious memory and nationality becomes a lost inheritance.

Senators, no one in all the land has greater pride than I feel in having this nation and our people exert a becoming influence on the progressive march of civilization. We can not hope to remain utterly aloof,

and would not choose a complete isolation if such a course were possible. We are the exemplars of representative democracy, and we have seemingly developed the most dependable popular government in the world. We know that no pure democracy ever survived, and we know that republics have failed before. We ought and do realize that the fundamentals of the United States are not of new discovery, and we are yet but a child among the nations in point of years, though our achievement would glorify centuries of development. My point is that civilization is not exclusively ours, or justice solely an American conception, or righteousness wholly a New-World development. We are committed to them all, and we are the best exemplars of unselfishness in the world.

AMERICAN CONSCIENCE FIXES OBLIGATION

Our merits are appraised and our weaknesses are known. We have power and wealth and conscience; we do have lofty sentiments and high ideals. We would have ours the best example of national righteousness in all the world, and influence the world according to the confidence and respect we command. We do not need Europe or Asia to define our moral obligations, we do not need the Old World to quicken the American conscience. The obligations to civilization are not designated by men, they are written by the hand of divinity which records the onward march. No league, no council of any league, no assembly of any league can ever appeal to the American conscience as will the voice of intelligent and deliberate public

opinion. Aye, and if we proclaim democracy to the world, we must not crush it at its hearthstone.

Must we have this particular covenant to save us from European broils and Old-World conflicts, as the president asserts? In a hundred years of American development and growing influence no war involved us, though one hundred and twenty-six wars are recorded in that period. We were not involved in 1898; we went because conscience was impelling. I quite agree that Germany might have preferred to respect our rights than to involve us in the late world war if she had believed we would answer affront with armed defense, but the president was too busy then keeping us out of war to utter a vigorous American warning. Germany held us in a contempt which one militant American voice in authority might have dissolved, but we delayed until two million fighting sons of the republic shot Germany to respectful understanding.

RESPECT FOR AMERICAN RIGHTS

We have settled it for all time, league or no league, peace or no peace, war or no war, the rights of this nation and the rights of our citizens must and will be respected at home or abroad, on land or sea, everywhere an American may go on a lawful and righteous mission under the shining sun. To adopt any other policy, to call an international council to destroy the American spirit, would rend the life of the republic. It may be very old-fashioned, sirs, it may be reactionary, it may be shocking to pacifist and dreamer alike, but I choose for our own people, a hundred millions or

more, the right to search the American conscience and prescribe our own obligations to ourselves and the world's civilization.

Let us pause for a moment to note the tendency of the propagandists of the hour and the proponents of the league. There is a drive to nationalize industry, to denationalize governments, and internationalize the world. All are contrary to everything that made us what we are, all stamp failure on all we have wrought, and propose paralysis instead of the virile activity which sped us on to achievement.

SIGNIFICANCE OF NATIONALISM

Nationalism was the vital force that turned the dearly wrought freedom of the republic to a living, impelling power. Nationalism inspired, assured, up-builed. In nationalism was centered all the hopes, all the confidence, all the aspirations of a developing people. Nationalism has turned the retreating processions of the earth to the onward march to accomplishment, and has been the very shield of democracy wherever its banners were unfurled. Why, Senators, nationality was the hope of every appealing delegation which came to our committee in the name of democracy. It was nationality that conceived the emergence of new nations and the revival of old ones out of the ashes of consuming warfare. Nationality is the call of the heart of liberated peoples, and the dream of those to whom freedom becomes an undying cause. It was the guiding light, the song, the prayer, the consummation for our own people, although we were never assured

indissoluble union until the Civil War was fought. Can any red-blooded American consent now, when we have come to understand its priceless value, to merge our nationality into internationality, merely because brotherhood and fraternity and fellowship and peace are soothing and appealing terms?

Oh, sirs, I know it is denied. I can understand the indignant denial. I will not challenge its sincerity. It would be very disheartening to believe that any American in official position, or who donned the garb of an armed defender, knowingly assents to surrendered nationality. I may be wrong, but I elect to take no chances. If this league as negotiated can do all that its proponents have promised, it can tighten its grip on the destiny of nations and make our inspiring nationality only a memory. Extravagant utterance? Well, establish the council without strong reservations protecting our freedom of action, and establish the assembly with its powers unhindered by reservations, and no man can foresee the exercise of authority by the league of great powers, against whom small nations will protest in vain. Suppose it proves all that is claimed in discouraging war, which many honestly doubt. Let me say in passing that an able and experienced officer of the army, stalwart in his Americanism and his love of country, whose devotion has been proven again and again, and who not only fought in the late war but is a student of European affairs, said to me not a month ago: "Senator, as a military man, I ought to favor this league because it means war after war and constant activity in the work for which I am

trained. But I pray in my American heart you will never commit us to it, because I can see involvements and regrets unending."

AMERICAN SAFETY AT STAKE

But suppose it makes for the promised peace, I still prefer, and the great majority of Americans still prefer, to be the keepers of our national conscience and let Europe pass upon its moral obligations while we righteously meet our own.

Only the other day the president called upon the opponents of this league to "Put up or shut up." Among opponents he classes reservationists as well as those who would destroy it all. A good many people have been "putting up" in this country. Perhaps they have a right to speak. But in modified terms the president is uttering that very familiar demand, "If you won't have this, what have you to offer?" It is the well-known call for constructive proposals in place of obstructive discussion. There are times when obstruction justifies the call for something constructive. But this situation, Senators, calls for action preservative. When some one proposes an impossible thing it is not fit challenge to demand a constructive substitute. The preservation of American safety is the main thing. A safeguarded inheritance is infinitely better than the wasted riches of nationality.

Nobody is going to "shut up." Democracy does not demand such a surrender. Men in this body have a sworn duty to perform, no less important to ratification than presidential authority is to negotiation. A senator may be as jealous of his constitutional duty

as the president is jealous of an international concoction, especially if we cling to the substance as well as the form of representative democracy. The dictatorship was for the war only, and does not abide in the aftermath.

PATRIOTS SAVE AMERICA

Members of this body are not insensible to the criticism of their actions, official criticism, and the complaints of constituents. There are expressions of approval, too. Men have not been blind to the unusual mail from home; they have appraised letters inspired, letters perfunctory, letters from the heart, letters urging support, letters breathing deep alarm. I have heard the charge of partisanship and the threat of destroyed party and the prophecy of individual political ignominy. But I record it now, because it ought to be recorded; the soul of this discussion is splendidly patriotic. It is not confined to one side of the chamber nor to one side of the pending issue. I yield the belief in sincerity even to those who do not grant it. More, the radical, the unalterable opponents of the league and the treaty have rendered a real service to this country. I do not agree to all they urge in opposition, but I credit them with the awakening of America, without which the republic might have been unconsciously betrayed.

To what conclusion am I leading? Speaking for myself alone, voicing no faction, no group, no party, I do not see how any senator can decide upon his final vote till the disputed amendments and proposed reservations shall have the stamp of the decision of a Sen-

ate majority. I can never vote to ratify without safeguards. I am not yet persuaded to cast a ratifying vote without amendments. I have listened to the committee's earnest discussions. I bear witness that there was no fixed program of action in advance. I have sought to retain a fairly open mind, withholding unalterable utterance in the face of the charge of wabbling indecision.

RESERVATIONS ARE ESSENTIAL

I mean to vote for the amendments proposed by the committee. They ought to be accepted. If the president is correct in declaring the proposed reservations will send the treaty back, then amendments will not unduly delay. Suppose there is delay? Civilized peoples are not supposed to move unthinkingly in creating the surpassing covenant of all the ages. This is an epoch-making treaty, no matter what its terms prescribe.

America need not fear the ill-will of our allied covenanters. Their need for cooperation is not so critical as when the German armies were battering the western battle fronts, but Europe needs us infinitely more than we need Europe. The aftermath is little less difficult than the problems of war itself. We can carry the banners of America to the new Elysium, even though we have to furl them before we enter.

RIGHTEOUSNESS IS GOAL

It is well to do any job right. It is imperative to do a mighty job right, especially when it involves the fate of all civilization. If the world is to start all over, it

ought to start with the square deal. The treaty has not written it; the square deal was reserved for informal promises not uttered in the supreme document. Though we performed a great service in armed battling for a preserved civilization, we have yet a greater service to render to the same civilization by making the covenant of peace everlastingly righteous.

All fair men realize the embarrassment incident to the Shantung award. Perhaps we can not change it. No one believes we mean to go to war to restore to China what Germany looted and Japan traded for. But we need not be a party to an international immorality that challenges our every utterance about lofty purposes and the reign of justice. I want it recorded, for all the world to read, that America esteems her unarmed friend no less than she respects her armed associate.

If reservations are to send the German treaty and league covenant back, we ought to amend fully, we ought to write into the text the things which America is thinking. There has been inclination to yield some points rather than necessitate prolonged delay. We now know there are to be reservations, unmistakable reservations, else there will be no treaty. They must speak in clearest terms. The covenant is unthinkable without them. These reservations must be strong and unmistakable. I could no more support "mild reservations" than I could sanction mild Americanism. These reservations come of a purpose to protect America first, and still save a framework on which to build intelligent cooperation. These reservations come of a desire to offer opportunity for a clearing house for

the consciences of peoples. These reservations declare that we hold for ourselves the right to maintain our own peace, and are willing to encourage Europe's effort toward the great desideratum. But in these reservations there must be no surrender of the basic things on which this nation was builded to the present-day height of world eminence.

Without the amendments we shall be remiss in uttering the conscience of the republic; without any reservations we shall be recreant to duty. This is not the universal thought. There is dispute about it being the majority thought of the American millions, but I believe it will become the deliberate judgment of America.

MUST PRESERVE INHERITANCE

If such a course delays reconstruction, let reconstruction wait. It awaited the long negotiation at Paris, it waited amid barter, it can await correction where the blunder was made. You have heard the call of finance, voicing its impatience. Let finance recall that fundamental Americanism transcends its importance for to-day and the morrow, too. Industry calls for normal conditions of formal peace. Let industry remember that nationalism is its fostering influence, and internationalism means to merge its interests with the industries of the world. Momentous achievements are not wrought in impatience.

Out of the ferment, the turmoil, the debts, and echoing sorrows; out of the appalling waste and far-reaching disorder; out of the threats against orderly government and the assaults on our present-day civil-

ization, I think I can see the opening way for America. We must preserve the inheritance and hold sensitive the conscience which has guided our national life. We must cling to just government and hold to intelligent and deliberate public opinion as shield and buckler to representative democracy. We must hold to civil liberty, no matter who assails or in what garb he appears, and we must hold equal opportunity and the reward of merit no less vital to a living republic than liberty itself.

We do not need and we do not mean to live within and for ourselves alone, but we do mean to hold our ideals safe from foreign incursion. We have commanded respect and confidence, commanded them in friendship and the associations of peace, commanded them in the conflicts and comradeships of war. It is easily possible to hold the world's high estimate through righteous relationships. If our ideals of civilization are the best in the world, and I proudly believe that they are, then we ought to send the American torch-bearers leading on to fulfillment. America aided in saving civilization; Americans will not fail civilization in the deliberate advancements of peace. We are willing to give, but we resent demands.

MUST SAVE SOUL OF AMERICA

I do not believe, Senators, that it is going "to break the heart of the world" to make this covenant right, or at least free from perils which would endanger our own independence. But it were better to witness this rhetorical tragedy than destroy the soul of this great republic.

It is a very alluring thing, Mr. President, to do what the world has never done before. No republic has permanently survived. They have flashed, illumined, and advanced the world, and faded or crumbled. I want to be a contributor to the abiding republic. None of us to-day can be sure that it shall abide for generations to come, but we may hold it unshaken for our day, and pass it on to the next generation preserved in its integrity. This is the unending call of duty to men of every civilization; it is distinctly the American call to duty of every man who believes we have come the nearest to dependable popular government the world has yet witnessed.

Let us have an America walking erect, unafraid, concerned about its rights and ready to defend them, proud of its citizens and committed to defend them, and sure of its ideals and strong to support them. We are a hundred millions and more to-day, and if the miracle of the first century of national life may be repeated in the second the millions of to-day will be the myriads of the future. I like to think, sirs, that out of the discovered soul of this republic and through our preservative actions in this supreme moment of human progress we shall hold the word American the proudest boast of citizenship in all the world.

CHAPTER IV

AMERICANISM

*Address Delivered before the Ohio Society of New
York, at the Waldorf Hotel, New York
City, January 10, 1920*

MR. TOASTMASTER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—The topic of the evening makes it befitting to allude to the contemporaneousness of the birth of Ohio and the beginning of Americanism. Ohio became a definite part of the Northwest Territory in 1787, and the first flaming torch of Americanism was lighted in framing the Federal Constitution in that momentous year. Everything else American is preliminary or subsidiary.

The Pilgrims signed their simple and majestic covenant a full century and a half before, and set aflame their beacon of liberty on the coast of Massachusetts, and other pioneers of New-World freedom were rearing their new standards of liberty from Jamestown to Plymouth for five generations before Lexington and Concord heralded a new era; and it was all American in the destined result, yet all of it lacked the soul of nationality. In simple truth, there was no thought of nationality in the revolution for American independence. The colonists were resisting a wrong and freedom was their solace. Once it was achieved, nationality was the only agency suited to its preservation.

Ours was the physically incomparable America, so enriched by God's bounty and so incalculable in its possibilities that adventurous Spaniard and developing Englishman stood only at the gateway and marveled. Ours were American colonies in name, but the colonists were still echoing the prejudices and aspirations of the lands from which they came. There were conflicting ideas, varying conditions, and contending jealousies, but no common confidence, no universal pride, no illuminating spirit. These essentials came with the adoption of the Federal Constitution and the riveting of union, and the star of the American republic was set aglow in the world firmament on the day that ratification was effected.

BIRTH OF AMERICANISM

On that day Americanism began, robed in nationality. On that day the American republic began the blazed trail of representative popular government. On that day representative democracy was proclaimed the safe agency of highest human freedom. On that day America headed the forward procession of civil, human and religious liberty, which ultimately will effect the liberation of all mankind.

I am not thinking to magnify its comparative excellence, its charm of simplicity, or its exalted place among the written fundamental laws. I am recalling the Federal Constitution as the very base of all Americanism, as the ark of the covenant of American liberty, as the very temple of equal rights, as the very foundation of all our worthy aspirations. More, it was the supreme pledge of coordinate government by

law, with the sponsorship of majorities, the protected rights of minorities, and freedom from usurpation of power—the people to rule.

Men oftentimes sneer nowadays like it were some useless relic of the formative period, seemingly unmindful that on its guaranties rests the liberty which permits ungrateful sneering. Others pronounce it time-worn and antiquated and unsuited to modern liberty, but they forget that the world's orderly freedom has come of its inspiration. Perhaps its very simplicity, its utter naturalness for a popular government under majority rule, has led to scant appreciation if not unmindfulness. But it does abide and ever will so long as the republic survives.

CONSTITUTION IS SACRED

The trouble is that its sacredness, if not forgotten, has been too little proclaimed. Most of us think it too righteous to assail and too essential to ignore, and we have held the superstructure so nearly ideal that for more than a hundred years we have had no peace-time statute to make seditious utterance a crime. Apparently we have held the freedom of speech which the Constitution guarantees more sacred than the guaranteeing instrument. I have come to think it is fundamentally and patriotically American to say there isn't room anywhere in these United States for any one who preaches destruction of the government which is within the Constitution.

This patriotically, if not divinely, inspired fundamental law fits every real American citizen, and the man who can not fit himself to it is not fit for Amer-

ican citizenship nor deserving of our hospitality. It fully covers all classes and masses in its guaranteed liberties, and any class or mass that opposes the Constitution is against the country and the flag.

DUTY OF CITIZENSHIP

This republic has never feared an enemy from without. It no longer intends to be menaced by enemies from within. If any man seeks the advantages of American citizenship, let him assume the duties of that citizenship. If he wishes the freedom of America, let him subscribe to freedom's protection. If he craves our hospitality, let him not abuse it. If he wishes to profit by American opportunity, let him join in making the same opportunity open to others. One can not be half American and half European or half something else. This is the day for the all-American.

Nor can the foreigner hereafter be a prolonged visitor or resident alien, gathering the fruits of American opportunity, assuming the privileges of a citizen without whole-heartedly plighting his faith of citizenship. I do not mean the mere perfunctory declaration and legal naturalization. I mean renounced allegiance to the land from which he came and a heart and soul consecration to this republic. It were better to leave some of our industrial work undone than to have the government undermined in its doing.

But we must not accept the overwrought impression that the assault on stable American government is chargeable wholly or mainly to those of foreign birth who have not sworn American allegiance. The worst disloyalists and most effective conspirators wear the

garb of full-fledged American citizenship, and many of them inherited American opportunity at their birth and turned liberty into license. The ignorant foreigner is more a victim than a conspirator, because he has heard the gospel of revolution when no one preached the blessings of orderly government and the rewards of American opportunity. Agitator and revolutionist found profit in agitation. They learned the foreigner's language and thought his thoughts and reached his sympathies, and lied to his ignorant prejudices, while the captains of American industry were counting dividends without concern for the human element in their making. There were exceptions to this crime of negligence, but in most instances the Americans who invited and enlisted foreign activities to swell the man power of industry have neglected to teach the American language, failed to utter American sympathies, forgot to extend American fellowship, and omitted the revealment of the loftier ideals of American citizenship. The grind of the workshop alone is poor culture for that citizenship which makes the ideal republic.

MUST PRACTISE AMERICANISM

It is well enough to preach Americanism, and we ought. It is more important to practise it, and we must. In truth, my countrymen, we need practical Americanism in business as well as proclaimed Americanism in politics. It is superb to lead in commerce and excel in industry—and no nation ever filled a brilliant page in history until it reached industrial and commercial eminence—but the distinction is too costly

If wrought in the neglected qualities of citizenship and attending unrest and ultimate revolution.

It is well enough to be concerned about the quantity and quality of our wares, but it is better to be sure of the spirit of the workers who make them. We must be thinking of men as well as materials and the conditions of making as well as marketing. The enhancement of conditions in twenty years is tribute to awakened American conscience, but the neglect of education is the warning to American heedlessness.

DEVOTION TO DUTY

There must be concern about devotion to duty as well as dividends. There must be a thought of the eventful morrow as well as the golden day. It is of no avail merely to preach contentment. Content never lighted a furnace nor turned a wheel in all creation. It doesn't exist in the human being who is really worth while. Mere subsistence does not make a citizen, and generous compensation without thrift blasts every hope of acquirement.

What humanity most needs just now is understanding. The present-day situation is more acute because we are in the ferment that came of war and war's aftermath. Ours was a fevered world, sometimes flighty, as we used to say in the village, to suggest fever's fancies or delirium. I forbear specification. But we are slow getting normal again, and the world needs sanity as it seldom needed it before.

Many have thought the ratification of the peace treaty and its league of nations would make us normal,

but that is the plea of the patent-medicine fakir, whose one remedy will marvelously cure every ill. Undoubtedly formal peace will help, and I would gladly speed the day, if we sacrifice nothing vitally American. Yet as a matter of fact actual peace prevails and commerce has resumed its wonted way.

BACK TO NORMAL

Normal thinking will help more. And normal living will have the effect of a magician's wand, paradoxical as the statement seems. The world does deeply need to get normal, and liberal doses of mental science freely mixed with resolution will help mightily. I do not mean the old order will be restored. It will never come again. A world war's upheaval which ends autocracies and wipes out dynasties and multiplies cost of government, an upheaval which shifts the sacred ratio of 16 to 1 until silver is the more sacred, sweeps humanity beyond any return to precise pre-war conditions.

But there is a sane normalcy due under the new conditions, to be reached in deliberation and understanding. And all men must understand and join in reaching it. Certain fundamentals are unchangeable and everlasting. Life without toil never was and never can be. Ease and competence are not to be seized in frenzied envy; they are the reward of thrift and industry and denial. There can be no excellence without great labor. There is no reward except as it is merited. Lowered cost of living and increased cost of production are an economic fraud. Capital makes possi-

ble while labor produces, and neither ever achieved without the other, and both of them together never wrought a success without genius and management. No one of them, through the power of great wealth, the force of knowledge, or the might of great numbers is above the law, and no one of them shall dominate a free people.

SUPREMACY OF LAW

There can be no liberty without security, and there can be no security without the supremacy of law and the majesty of just government. In the gleaming Americanism of the Constitution there is neither fear nor favor, but there are equal rights to all, equal opportunities beckoning to every man, and justice untrammelled. The government which surrenders to the conspiracies of an influential few or yields to the intimidation of the organized many does justice to neither and none and dims the torch of Americanism which must light our way to safety.

Governmental policies change and laws are altered to meet the changed conditions which attend all human progress. There are orderly processes for these necessary changes. Let no one proclaim the Constitution unresponsive to the conscience of the republic. We have recently witnessed its amendment with less than eighteen months intervening between submission and ratification, with some manifestation of sorrow marking the fundamental change. It promptly responds to American conviction and is the rock on which is builded the temple of orderly liberty and the guaranteed freedom of the American republic.

CIVIL LIBERTY AT STAKE

The insistent problem of the day, magnified in the madness of war and revealed in the extreme reaction from hateful and destroyed autocracy to misapplied and bolshevist democracy, like the pathos of impotent Russia, is the preservation of civil liberty and its guaranties. Let Russia experiment in her fatuous folly until the world is warned anew by her colossal tragedy. And let every clamorous advocate of the red régime go to Russia and revel in its crimsoned reign. This is law-abiding America!

Our American course is straight ahead, with liberty under the law, and freedom glorified in righteous restraint. Reason illumines our onward path, and deliberate, intelligent public opinion reveals every pitfall and byway which must be avoided. America spurns every committal to the limits of mediocrity and bids every man to climb to the heights and rewards him as he merits it. This is the essence of liberty and made us what we are. Our system may be imperfect, but under it we have wrought to world astonishment, and we are only fairly begun.

HONEST LIVING IS SOLUTION

It would halt the great procession to time our steps with the indolent, the lazy, the incapable, or the sullenly envious. Nor can we risk the course sometimes suggested by excessive wealth and its oftentimes insolent assumption of power, but we can practise thrift and industry, we can live simply and commend righteous

achievement, we can make honest success an inspiration to succeed, and march hopefully on to the chorus of liberty, opportunity and justice.

Sometimes we must go beneath the surface gulf stream to find the resistless currents of the great ocean. It little matters what a man proclaims in an ephemeral outcry for fancied reformation, you get the true undercurrent when you learn his aspiration for his children and his children's children. He stands with his generation between yesterday and the morrow, eager to lift his children to a little higher plane than mediocrity can bridge and which socialism never reaches. He wants to hand on American freedom unabridged; he wants to bequeath the waters of American political life unpolluted; he would bestow the quality of opportunity unaltered and the security of just government unendangered. The underwriting is in the complete and rejoicing Americanism of every citizen of the republic.

MUST PRESERVE NATIONALISM

Mr. Toastmaster, we have been hearing lately of the selfishness of nationality, and it has been urged that we must abandon it in order to perform our full duty to humanity and civilization. Let us hesitate before we surrender the nationality which is the very soul of highest Americanism. This republic has never failed humanity or endangered civilization. We have been tardy about it, like when we were proclaiming democracy and neutrality while we ignored our national rights, but the ultimate and helpful part we played in

the great war will be the pride of Americans so long as the world recites the story.

We do not mean to hold aloof, we choose no isolation, we shun no duty. I like to rejoice in an American conscience and in a big conception of our obligations to liberty, justice and civilization. Aye, and more, I like to think of Columbia's helping hand to new republics which are seeking the blessings portrayed in our example. But I have a confidence in our America that requires no council of foreign powers to point the way of American duty. We wish to counsel, cooperate and contribute, but we arrogate to ourselves the keeping of the American conscience and every concept of our moral obligations. It is fine to idealize, but it is very practical to make sure our own house is in perfect order before we attempt the miracle of the Old-World stabilization.

AMERICA FIRST

Call it the selfishness of nationality if you will, I think it an inspiration to patriotic devotion—

To safeguard America first.

To stabilize America first.

To prosper America first.

To think of America first.

To exalt America first.

To live for and revere America first.

We may do more than prove exemplars to the world of enduring, representative democracy where the Constitution and its liberties are unshaken. We may go on securely to the destined fulfillment and

make a strong and generous nation's contribution to human progress, forceful in example, generous in contribution, helpful in all suffering, and fearless in all conflicts.

Let the internationalist dream and the Bolshevik destroy. God pity him "for whom no minstrel raptures swell." In the spirit of the republic we proclaim Americanism and acclaim America.

CHAPTER V.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

*Ohio Legislative Memorial Address Before a Joint
Convention of the Eighty-third General As-
sembly, January 29, 1919*

GENTLEMEN OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY—I stood before the flag-draped casket in the little church at Oyster Bay, amid simplicity so rigid that one could not help remarking it, and yielded to conflicting emotions. I wondered if by some fitting miracle an inanimate flag could mourn. One could not see the casket—only its form—because the vision was filled with the flag, and it seemed to me the colors clung as though sorrowing at the loss of their most fearless defender. One little noted the floral tributes, one was little concerned about eminent statesmen and famous writers and military chieftains and high officials who had gathered with neighbors and friends—political and personal friends—in reverent sorrow for the long farewell. My own ears were deaf to the reading of the ritual and the recital of his favorite hymn, I was thinking of the flag and the soulless form it draped in jealous sorrow. Great citizens had passed before. Beloved executives, heroic soldiers and far-seeing statesmen—all had come to the inevitable, either too soon

or in the fulness of distinguished lives—and the nation had mourned, and peoples sorrowed, and potentates had sympathized, but there was a distinct conviction that the flag lost its bravest defender when Theodore Roosevelt passed from life to the eternal. A flaming spirit of American patriotism was gone. A great void had come, and there was none to fill it.

EMINENT AMERICAN

Measured from any view-point Colonel Roosevelt was one of the eminent Americans of all times, and history will write him one of the most conspicuous figures in all American history. I do not underrate the eminence which has gone before, nor doubt that great and distinguished Americans will follow, but in any appraisal Colonel Roosevelt's name will be inseparably linked with the finding of the American soul, with the great awakening and consecration. Now and hereafter let it be said: "Here was a great and courageous American, who called to the slumbering spirit of the republic and made it American in fact as well as in name."

I say it after full deliberation, and free from all inclinations which characterize hero-worship, I believe Colonel Roosevelt to have been the most courageous American of all times. He not only believed, he proclaimed and acted. He was not only American in his own heart and soul, but he believed every man who wore the habiliments should be an American in every heart-beat, and commit himself to simple and unfailing Americanism.

EXALTED BY AMERICANISM

It was the mastering passion, the supreme end. Men thought of him first as a warrior, but it was his all-encompassing Americanism which made him one. Historians rank him high as a statesman. It was his Americanism that exalted him. Many believed him to have become the consummate politician—and he was—but he put his Americanism high above political plans and practises. Not a few careful observers believe that Colonel Roosevelt lost the Republicans the election in 1916, and I have heard him say the contention may be well founded. But he was battling for a bigger thing than party triumph, and he put that bigger thing far above and beyond party success. He believed our involvement in the world war was inevitable, and was seeking to awaken the republic. He saw the purpose to rend the loyal concord of American citizenship, and bore aloft the torch to lead us from the perils of pacificism and indecision. He never turned back. He never counted the political cost. Though he thought to submit his national leadership again in 1920, and knew the perils in criticism and truth-telling, he struck fearlessly at every menacing thing, regardless of numbers involved, and smote divided loyalty and hyphenated Americanism at every turn.

“Country first” was his supreme ideal, and “country first” was his unfailing practise. The words were emblazoned in the oriflamme which enthused his followers throughout a marvelously eventful career.

SOUGHT FOREIGN SERVICE

I sensed the depths of his convictions when Congress made it lawful for him to take a volunteer army to France, shortly after our entry in the war. We did not write his name in the law, but the country knew. I think a major-generalship appealed to his ambition, but he stipulated no rank. He wanted to recruit and respond to the call of threatened civilization. His critics misconstrued. I am sure I knew. He wanted to save the morale of suffering France and awaken the morale in this slumbering republic. In the retrospect I believe he rendered a greater service with voice and pen at home than was possible to perform with his sword in France. And somehow I am glad he remained a colonel—nay, the colonel. How significant it is, and what a tribute, that he has made the title of loftiest rank, he is "The Colonel" to all America, and one needs only to mention the title without the name to have it understood that he is speaking of the most eminent colonel of all time.

It would be futile to attempt a life review within the limitations befitting this occasion. He was many sided, and his strenuous career was full of great accomplishment. What history will recite is fairly known. What biography contains will be more revealing. History records events, biography reveals the men who give events to history.

EXTRAORDINARY MANHOOD

Colonel Roosevelt's extraordinary manhood, his appealing, vigorous, fearless, American manhood is an

inseparable thing from his great public career. He revealed it as the ranchman in the freedom of the West. He revealed it as the soldier in the world's first war for humanity. He revealed it in an administrative and executive office, in his vaster responsibilities, and it was the conspicuous side of him in the retirement to which he could not retire. It was the big thing to those who knew him best, and no man ever had faster and firmer friends. "Better be faithful than famous" was an expressed conviction, and he was not only its exemplar but he inspired faithfulness. No other man could have enlisted the following which went with him to certain and foreseen political disaster in 1912. Or did they go with him? Perhaps it is nearer the truth to say he went with them. I have heard it said he advised against the political division in that year of bitterness and defeat, that he yielded to the pressure and judgment of friends and chose to be "faithful rather than famous." The retrospect recalls two notable revealments: he lost or broke few friendships; he was ever as willing to be convinced as he was convincing.

The popular impression had him often domineering and insistent, but there were few American presidents who sought advice more widely or were more ready to accept. My own impressions concerning him, gathered from press, platform and passing events, were largely altered by personal contact, and utterly changed by the revelations of those who knew him longer and better. Many thought the mighty hunter lacking in the general attributes, but he could be as gentle as he was strong, and as sympathetic as a mother touched by love.

MAN OF ACTION

He was, first of all, a man of action, and delighted in strenuosity and confessed his fondness for hurrah and parade. But he was not always performing on a public stage. One of the very big events in his career was the least conspicuous and was barely known, until recited in the biography of the late John Hay, who had served in his inherited Cabinet as secretary of state. Germany threatened the seizure of a port in Venezuela to enforce some financial claims of German citizens. President Roosevelt called in the German ambassador, and in a quiet demeanor that was ominous in itself, told him to tell the kaiser that unless he agreed to arbitrate the German contention within ten days Admiral Dewey would sail an American fleet with sealed instructions to give armed resistance to any attempt at German seizure. That was a message the kaiser could understand. The kaiser agreed to arbitrate. President Roosevelt publicly praised him for the peaceful proposal which the president himself so quietly yet firmly demanded. The great criminal, who afterward set the world aflame in 1914, had yielded to the firm assertion of American purpose, and the Monroe Doctrine was emphasized anew in the estimate of Old-World diplomacy.

There was more of unparaded activity but no less effectiveness in dealing with the designing statesmen of Colombia in the establishment of a friendly republic in Panama, which left the money grabbers of the greater state begging for millions to this very hour, though the great interoceanic canal is long since a

finished monument for all time to President Roosevelt's aggressive Americanism and our republic's capacity to do big things. It is idle to speculate now, but I can not believe his stalwart Americanism would have ever sanctioned the surrender of its intended advantages to American shipping.

AWAKENED NATIONAL CONSCIENCE

Perhaps his greatest work apart from his appealing Americanism, and yet a vital part of it, was his crusade for a new order of things, a new conscience in the republic. We can appraise him now in the aftermath of fuller understanding, and even those who most violently opposed him must confess his great part in an essential awakening. He did four years of arousing and uprooting. His far-seeing vision detected a dangerous drift. He cried out for governmental assertion of authority, lest government itself should be the governed. In his zest he was the radical, as all crusaders are, but when he saw the business conscience of America awakened, he gladly welcomed constructive supersedure. He was really less the radical than he oftentimes appeared, and sometimes spoke radically against his own judgment. The greatest blunder of his career was made in this very chamber when he addressed the Constitutional Convention of 1912. He came against his own judgment and in yielding to insistent advice declared for the recall of judicial decisions. It is not surprising that one of his energy and courage should blunder, particularly in a period of tremendous conflict and crusading zeal. It was a mark of his greatness that he instantly recovered, and lost

little of his hold and none of the respect of the American people. He incurred violent enmities, but none ever called him an unfair opponent. He struck as he spoke, straight from the shoulder, and he practised as he preached. In his virile American manhood he was the surpassing and inspiring example. In the fulness of mental and physical vigor, he was the great patriotic sentinel, pacing the parapet of the republic, alert to danger and every menace and in love with duty and service and always unafraid.

MADE AMERICA BETTER

It is little to say that the republic is bigger and better and mightily advanced by his part in its glorious history, more American for his call to patriotism and more secure for his warning of perils. It is more to say he inspired those who follow to nobler manhood and higher ideals.

It didn't seem quite in harmony with his untiring activity and unharnessed soul that its flame should fail in the quiet of slumber, but it was peace valiantly and triumphantly won, and the flames he lighted burned afresh and will light the way of a people whom he loved and who loved him as a great American.

CHAPTER VI

RELATIONS WITH THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Public Address at Topeka, Kansas, March 8, 1920

THERE has been widely distributed from my own state some quotations of utterances carried in 1912 in the *Marion* (Ohio) *Star*, of which I have been the sole or principal owner for the past thirty years. These quotations are distributed to appeal to the opposition to me on the part of the friends of that great outstanding American, Theodore Roosevelt. I magnify no posthumous claims to an intimate friendship with Colonel Roosevelt, and could have no title to his political mantle, even if such bestowal were possible in this republic. On the other hand, I vigorously opposed him in 1912 just as he typically opposed the regular wing of the Republican party to which I adhered.

Theodore Roosevelt never did anything half-heartedly. He preached the gospel of hitting and hitting hard for what he believed to be right. He expected his opponents to fight, and we were in a fight in 1912. I did my share of it in our newspaper and on the stump. Colonel Roosevelt and Mr. Taft were greatly estranged, but both were big enough to put aside their grief and bury their hostilities and make common appeal to the American people for a Republican victory in 1918. He and others came to new understanding.

My concord with Theodore Roosevelt came shortly after our party's defeat in 1916. He invited me to a conference and I gladly responded. We did not dwell long on the differences of 1912. That was an old story, he thought his course was justified and we jointly deplored the result, but he did insist we must all get together and save the country through a Republican restoration; that the Republican party was the one agency through which to give highest service, and the compact of our council and cooperation was made then and there, and in many conferences afterward I came to know how deeply he felt the necessity of all Republicans uniting to effect the party supremacy so essential to the nation's good. It was his personal, rather than his political, wish that I should stand sponsor for the amendment to the army bill that made it possible for him to take a volunteer division to France, and I rejoiced over the enactment, though President Wilson would not accept it. But the big thing was that Theodore Roosevelt was keen to wipe out the differences of 1912, now buried beneath eight years of regrets, and look with hope to party triumph through united endeavor in 1920.

If he had lived, he would have been our Republican nominee by acclamation. It is poor proof of devotion and poorer evidence of the inheritance of the political wisdom which marked his matchless career to parade the mistakes of 1912 to inspire a victory in 1920. More, it is not progressive. It is retrogressive. I choose a party and a leadership which appraises men and issues of to-day, and thinks not of the differences of yesterday, but the victory of to-morrow.

CHAPTER VII

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

*Address at the McKinley Memorial Dinner, Niles,
Ohio, January 29, 1920*

MR. TOASTMASTER AND GENTLEMEN—Much is being said, properly and becomingly, in these anxious days of the republic, about a saving Americanism. No one better typified it than William McKinley. And he lived and preached and practised it, first as the cure for national disaster, and later for the guaranty of the greater good fortunes of the American people. His Americanism wrought the restoration in times of peace, and the very same Americanism revealed our unselfishness in war. More, he proved the republic's readiness for every becoming burden for humanity's sake, in war's aftermath.

Likewise, much has been said in the last three years about making war for humanity's sake. It is fitting to say on this occasion, in this memorial edifice, that America's first war for humanity's sake was commanded by President William McKinley. Indeed, no one will dispute it: the first recorded war for humanity's sake in all the world was when he unsheathed the sword in behalf of suffering and oppressed humanity in Cuba in 1898. And when it was won—quickly and magnificently won—he gave to the world the first

example of national unselfishness and the first American proof of loftier aims than territorial aggrandizement.

I thought then that Cuba rightfully ought to have a place under the American flag. I still believe that the American spirit, backed by the security of American protection, has lighted the way to notable Cuban progress. But McKinley had the clearer vision and saw the value of the world's understanding and Cuba's confidence in our national unselfishness. He restored the flag which had been hauled down in Hawaii, then furled a triumphant flag in Cuba, in high honor, to proclaim the banner of kept faith and national righteousness to all the world.

PIONEER OF EXPANSION

In the story of the eventful year so recently brought to a close more has been said about lofty ideals and the assumed burdens of civilization than in all history before, but I like to recall that William McKinley was a pioneer who blazed the trail to the realm of ennobled nations. He wrought our first expansion, he was its first official sponsor, and the party now in power, seeking all the entanglements which the fathers warned against, then proclaimed it imperialism. Mr. Bryan paramounted it eloquently, without influencing the popular or electoral vote, and sixteen years later, while Europe was torn with stupendous conflict, we were still so concerned about our own safety that President Wilson and a sympathetic majority in both houses of Congress sought to cast the Philippines adrift. That was before supergovernment was

dreamed of, that was before the contemplated merger of this republic in a supreme government of the world.

No matter how the future fates may revolve, no matter how the premature grants of self-government may impair the good that was previously wrought, no matter how the logic of theory when practically applied may end the glory of our flag in the Orient, we must credit the first helpfulness of this republic to a struggling people in distant lands to the sympathy and courage of William McKinley, and to American sponsorship in the Philippines will be accredited one of the splendid pages of modern history.

AMERICAN NATIONALIST

I do not venture to apply too intimately the views he held or the lessons he taught to the mighty problems incident to our foreign relations of to-day. But my acquaintance was sufficient and my recollections are clear enough to be very sure that, in spite of his sympathy and generosity, he would be an American nationalist. His very soul was consecrated to the up-building and safeguarding of this republic. He wanted the superb and supreme America. He wished a patriotic and a prosperous people. In all his public life his first concern was for these United States.

He fought with the sons of the North to preserve union and nationality. Not for a material advantage, but to preserve the inheritance of the fathers and hold sacred the great Constitution on which the republic is founded. It was a strange fate, armed defender that he was, that he should be the first of all our presidents really to understand the South, and make it understand

him; and then, in sympathy and understanding, he healed the old wounds of war and won the new concord of union so vital to our greater development. In the greatness of his soul and with the tact that characterized his public life, William McKinley began the most essential of all preparedness for national defense by restoring the confidence in union twenty years before a world war put us to the supreme test.

I am very sure that if William McKinley were alive to-day and charged with the trusted leadership we so gladly accorded him, he would be deeply sympathetic with the troubled world; he would be keen to be helpful to anxious peoples, but his deeper concern would be for our own welfare; and in his capacity to bring people together he would have all in authority working to that common end.

A PARTISAN REPUBLICAN

He was notably a partisan, a partisan Republican. He was the most representative Republican of his day. He believed in popular government through the agency of political parties, and believed in his party as the agency of greatest good to the American people. He was considerate, tolerant, courteous, but ever a partisan Republican. He did not believe his party had a monopoly on all that was good or patriotic, but he did believe it capable of best serving our common country, and its policies best suited to promote our common good fortune. His was an outstanding personality, lovable and admirable, but his strength was that of a party spokesman, and his great decisions came of Republican counsel.

Whether it was the solution of a pressing problem at home, whether it was maintained honor and fully met obligations in our foreign relations, whether it was the continued elevation of the standards of American life and the continued advancement of all our people, William McKinley was ever found committed to a sane and workable plan. It is not unbecoming to say that when anarchy struck him down and Theodore Roosevelt took up his burdens, he instantly announced he would continue the policies of his illustrious predecessor, and won the confidence and affection of America in doing so. It dims the glory of neither to recall it. They differed in type, oftentimes in methods, but accomplished greatly because they voiced the dominant party in the republic.

COOPERATED WITH CONGRESS

No one could imagine William McKinley belittling Congress, or berating a "pygmy-minded Senate," because that would have been unlike him. He had served in Congress, respected it as a coordinate branch of the government and worked with it—not in opposition to it, not in domination over it. The success of his legislative and executive career had its foundation in his ability to understand and to be understood, and in understanding commit all the forces of government to seek the desired achievement.

It is a faddish practise, sometimes an assumed superiority, to cry out against political parties, and proclaim the super-man who is free from party shackles. It is more a fraud than it is a reformation. If the super-man is available, he is still a partisan—a per-

sonal partisan if not political. In spite of the tardy call to Republicans for a patriotic service for war, delayed until the supreme emergency broke down the barriers, when the perils of inefficiency and inactivity aroused the country, the present administration has been as partisan as Jackson's, and the super-man became very human after contact with mortals in the councils at Paris, and a brush with a Senate which has resumed its constitutional functions. It would have been better to have cooperated and coordinated with Congress than to have disappointed America and broken the heart of the world with superlative obstinacy.

POLITICAL PARTIES ESSENTIAL

Perhaps it is old-fashioned, maybe it seems to be reactionary, but I voice a deliberate conviction that the abandonment of government through political parties means the same instability for us which characterizes many Central American and South American states, or it means an autocracy or dictatorship which spells the end of our boasted republic. No one will deny abuses and disappointments in our established political system, but it made us what we are, and all the world has yet to match the record of American development and accomplishment. We had better correct the abuses than to risk the abandonment of the system.

We approached autocracy during the war. Congress submerged itself, and surrendered many of its functions. I am not complaining. It seemed necessary, because of our gigantic task of national defense,

and the supreme emergency called for a supreme command. I do not think William McKinley would have asked it or accepted it, but practical humanity deals with situations as they have to be met. We escaped with only a temporary perversion, but the inclination now to forsake party sponsorship is only another form of opposition to constitutional government, more to be feared than those who preach destruction by force. To be sure, strong men are needed, but we need stronger parties back of them. You can't have stable government at the hands of a political party or a political leadership which will barter proven principles for temporary success, or yield to the intimidation of any group threatening to assert its strength at the polls. Parties must be held as the agencies for the expressed conscience of the majority, and they must prevail or fail as they merit it. In popular government they are the agencies of education in matters political.

RESTORED PROSPERITY IN 1896

An incident from the career of William McKinley affords a striking illustration. In 1896 the nation was in deep distress. The industrial disaster was widespread. It seems like a breath of changed air to recall now that our national grief was low prices. The farmers in Kansas burned corn for fuel, because it didn't pay to haul it to market. A dime looked as big as the moon, full-orbed, and a dollar was ample for a boasted balance in the bank. I can recall the wide-spread anguish over the downward trend. The eminent Nebraskan preached his famous cure-all in the free coinage of silver. McKinley had another remedy, though

personally he thought kindly of the double standard of coinage as a palliative to help reduce the patient's pain. Like the Republican that he was, like every Republican ought to be, he surrendered his personal views to the judgment of the party majority, and we turned to the education of the American voter. In August the country was ready for the wrong medicine, in November it voted for the real cure, and there was recorded a victory for the conviction of the Republican party and the intelligence of the American people. And there was instant restoration.

APOSTLE OF PROTECTIVE TARIFF

Conditions change, new problems arise, new policies are necessary. I had rather trust the majority in any party, even the Democratic party, than rely on any outstanding personality in any party, super-man or otherwise. This decision by the majority is the underlying theory of representative popular government and makes our government sanely responsive to deliberate and dependable public opinion. If there is failure of our party to-day to meet the fullest expectations of the American people, it is due in the main to the fact that we have so-called Republicans in our ranks and some of them in authority who seek to make the party policy, and failing in that, assume a superiority to party judgment. Such a course not only endangers party success at the polls, but destroys party effectiveness in official performance. I commend independence and fearlessness of thought, but I invite the party devotion of McKinley as the highest guaranty of kept pledges and helpful accomplishment.

Certain fundamentals always abide. The supremacy of government is one. The inspiration in nationality is another. The necessity of successful business is still another. Perhaps no public man in all our American development clung to that belief more tenaciously than William McKinley. It made him the apostle of the protective tariff. Men sneer at it nowadays, as though we had outgrown the coddling period, and are ready to match our wits with the world. We tried it in 1914, and sneers turned to sadness then, until Europe's tragedy cured our psychological grief. Let it be called narrow, provincial, selfish, contrary to all theory, whatever you like, in the industries coddled under protection we were independent, and in these unprotected and undeveloped the war found us helpless, until American genius turned to production under war's necessity, and war's barriers of tragic protection. We know now the value of American self-dependence, and I speak for one who believes it sane Americanism now to safeguard the industries developed in war to add to our eminence and independence in peace, and to hold all American industry as of first concern and of first importance in guaranteeing the good fortunes of the American people.

It is utterly wrong to assume we have reached the heights of American development. There is an interesting analogy between pioneering in settlement and pioneering in developing industry. Under the westward march of the star of empire, the stalwart men who were bent on achievement took advantage of productive resources, and built temporarily and speeded to production amid waste, because production was neces-

sary to subsistence and essential to permanence. One may fairly trace the developing stage across the continent, with improvement and permanency superseding the hurried things of the hopeful beginning. It is a fair criticism of American industry that our first concern was quantity. I want to hail the day when we can do more than boast America as the greatest producer, I want our country the best producer in all the world.

HIS LEADERSHIP IS INSPIRATION

In some things we do excel. I remember a very great pride, during a European visit some years ago, to see American shoes exhibited in the show windows of the great cities as the "best in the world." Probably we shall never excel in all production; that would be the attainment of the miraculous, but I want to live to see the day when an American buyer asks for the best he will not be shown something imported. It is a desirable attainment for a greater reason than pride of country. It must be the inspiration of the American worker. There isn't much impelling a workman in mere quantity production, in the mere grind for wage, but there is soul in doing a thing best. If one thing is needed more than another in the ranks of industry, it is pride in production and the spirit of attainment.

In the McKinley policy there is every possibility and every encouragement. We have the higher standards of living, and mean to maintain them. World wages haven't been leveled, and never will be until Old-World standards are raised to ours.

MEMORY GIVES CONFIDENCE

We shall never know the pre-war level of wage again, never the old-time proportions of wages and profits. I have been engaged in business in a modest way for thirty-five years and have never known a reduction of wages. The tendency is ever higher, and ought to be. Nothing avails, however, if living cost is kept apace with the mounting wage. Thrift will help. More production and less extravagance will help. A sober thought of the morrow will aid still more.

Business must and will yield more of its profits to those participating in their production, but business must be given its meed of just consideration. It can't sustain a government which is drunken in expenditure and keeps step to the Bolshevist anthem at the same time, and still perform its functions in health and sanity. There is a finer conscience in business in America to-day than has ever been revealed, in spite of the continued profiteering amid a saturnalia of expenditure, and we are sure to get right because the heart of America is right.

I like to look forward with the confidence and hope of him whose memory we honor to-night. I know how he believed in the republic, how sure he was of the deliberate good sense of the American people. I know what his admonition would be—"Americans, front face, march on; let us make this republic the consummation of freedom and freedom's hopes and aspirations!"

CHAPTER VIII

GEORGE WASHINGTON

*Address Delivered February 22, 1918, at Washington's
Birthday Celebration before the Sons and
Daughters of the Revolution, at
Washington, D. C.*

MR. PRESIDENT, MADAM PRESIDENT, YOUR EXCEL-
LENCIES, SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, MY COUNTRYMEN—I have
been sensing the atmosphere of this patriotic occasion
and the significance of this celebration.

It is good to meet and drink at the fountains of
wisdom inherited from the founding fathers of the
republic. It is a fitting time for retrospection and in-
trospection when we face a problem to-day even greater
than the miracle they wrought. The comparison does
not belittle their accomplishment. Nothing in all his-
tory surpasses their achievement. The miracle was
not the victory for independence. The stupendous
thing was the successful establishment of the republic.
There they were, spent and bleeding, in the very chaos
of newly found freedom; there they were, with ideas
conflicting, interests varied, jealousies threatening,
and selfishness impelling; there they were, without
having visualized nationality. They had contended

only for liberty, and when it was obtained they found a nation to be the necessary means of its preservation.

FOUNDERS DIVINELY INSPIRED

With commanding patriotism and lofty statesmanship, with heroic sacrifice and deep-penetrating foresight, they founded what we had come to believe the first seemingly dependable popular government on the face of the earth. I can believe they were divinely inspired. In the reverent retrospection I can believe that destiny impelled. Surely there was the guiding hand of divinity itself, conscious of sublime purpose.

They not only wrought union and concord out of division and discord, but they established a representative democracy, and for the first time in the history of the world wrote civil liberty into the fundamental law. On this civil liberty is builded the temple of human liberty, and through this representative government we Americans have wrought to the astonishment of the world. More, on the unfailing foundation of civil liberty they established orderly government, the most precious possession of all civilization, and made justice its highest purpose.

DEVELOPED AMERICAN SOUL

Mark you, they were not reforming the world. They had dearly bought the freedom of a new people; they reared new standards of liberty; they consecrated themselves to equal rights, then sought to establish the highest guaranty of them all. They had the vision to realize that no dependable government could be founded on ephemeral popular opinion. They knew

that thinking, intelligent, deliberate, public opinion in due time would write any statute that justice inspired. They knew that no pure democracy, with political power measured by physical might, ever had endured; that neither the autocrat with usurped or granted power, nor the mass in impassioned committal could maintain liberty and justice or bestow their limitless blessings. So they fashioned their triumphs, their hopes, their aspirations, and their convictions into the Constitution of the representative republic; they made justice the crowning figure on the surpassing temple, and stationed beckoning opportunity at the door—equal opportunity, let me say—and bade the world to come and be welcome; and the world came—the down-trodden and the oppressed, the adventurous and ambitious—and they drank freely of the waters of our political life, and stood erect and achieved, each according to his merits or his industry, his talents or his genius. Generous in their rejoicing, the fathers neglected to establish the altars of consecration at the threshold. Eager to develop our measureless resources, anxious to have humanity come and partake freely of New-World liberty, they asked no dedication at the portals. They developed an American soul in their own sacrifices for liberty, but neglected to demand soul consecration before participation on the part of those who came to share their triumphs.

We have come to realize the oversight now. We have come to find our boasted popular government put to the crucial test in defending its national rights. We met with no such problem in the Civil War. That was a destined conflict between Americans of the two

schools of political thought, which was the final test in maintaining nationality. There was like passion for country on either side of that great struggle, but the dross in the misdirected passion for disunion was burned away in the crucible of fire and blood, and the pure gold turned into shining stars in dear Old Glory again. We settled rights to nationality among ourselves. We are fighting to-day for the unalterable rights which are inherent in nationality, without which no self-respecting nation could hope to survive, and for which any nation refusing to fight does not deserve to survive.

DUTY TO PRESERVE REPUBLIC

We have the duty to preserve the inherited covenant of the fathers; we have the obligation to hand on to succeeding generations the very republic which we inherited. If this generation will not sacrifice and suffer in this crisis of the world, the republic is doomed. If this fortunate people can not prove popular government capable of defense in a war for national rights, popular government fails. If the impudent assumption of world domination is not thwarted by the entente allies and this people, then civilization itself is defeated. Never since the world began has any nation been able to dominate the world. A mighty, righteous people may influence and help mankind, and I have wished that noble task for this republic, but domination is for God alone, and His agency is the universal brotherhood of man.

There is one compensation in the very beginning. We are finding ourselves. From this day henceforth

we are to be an American people in fact as well as name. Consecration to America is the deliberate and unalterable decree. The dedicating altars are erected and are free as liberty itself. Now and hereafter the individual, no matter who he is or whence he comes, who proclaims himself an American and fattens his existence on American opportunity, must be an American in his heart and soul. More, the American of to-day, to-morrow, and so long as the republic endures and triumphs, must be schooled to the duties of citizenship which go with the privileges and advantages thereof, and men and women of America are to find what they can do for orderly government instead of seeking what it can do for them.

ADVICE OF WASHINGTON

Solemnly, my countrymen, this is an epoch in human affairs. The world is in upheaval. There is more than war and its measureless cost. Civilization is in a fluid state. All existent forms of government are being tested, and the very fundamentals of human achievement are in question. In this hour of reverent memory for the beloved father of our country, in this wholesome retrospection of the miracle wrought by the founders, in the hurried contemplation of the marvelous achievements of our people to whom they gave an immortal beginning, let us strive to appreciate their wisdom and our good fortune and commit ourselves anew to the essential preservation.

I wonder what the great Washington would utter in warning, in his passionate love of the republic and his deep concern about future welfare, if he could

know the drift of to-day? In his undying farewell address his repeated anxiety was concerning jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from distrust and factional misrepresentations—"they tend to rend alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection."

And he warned us that "respect for authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty." "Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little less than a name where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction . . . and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of rights and property."

Alluding to parties more comparable to factions in our citizenship of the present day he warned against "the spirit having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled or repressed, but in those of popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy."

FACTIONALISM DECRIED

In our mighty development we have added to the perils of which Washington warned. The danger has not been in party association, but in party appeal or surrender to faction. There has been no partisan politics in our war preparation. On the contrary, partisan lines have been effaced to close up the ranks in patriotic devotion. But factions have grown more

menacing and hold their factional designs more necessary than patriotic consecration.

It is characteristic of popular government, and its weakness, that there is more appeal to popularity than concern for the common weal. Too many men in public life are more concerned about ballots than the bulwarks of free institutions. Our growth, our diversification, our nation-wide communication, our profit-bearing selfishness—these have filled the land with organized factions, not geographical, as Washington so much feared, but commercial, industrial, agricultural and professional, each seeking to promote the interests of its own, not without justification at times, but often a menace in exacting privilege or favor through the utterance of political threats. If popular government is to survive it must grant exact justice to all men and fear none. If law is to be respected and government remain supreme, legislation must be for all the people, not for the few of vast fortune or its influences, or the few of commanding activity and their assumptions, or the many who may assert political power in accordance with numerical strength. The republic is of all the people, equal in their claims to civil liberty and the grant of opportunity, aye, and its righteous rewards. The anxieties of world conflict and the inevitable alterations must not blind us to the tasks of preservation.

If the war is to make of us, or of any national votary of modified democracy, an impotent people, paralyzed by revolutionary reform, it is not worth the winning. If this world tumult is to leave wrecked hopes like that of chaotic Russia to prove that autoc-

racy and unintelligent democracy have a common infamy, then civilization must have its purification in a penitence of failure and wrecked hopes and unspeakable sacrifices, until God in His mercy and wisdom restores sanity to mankind and admonishes men to achievement over the proven paths of human progress. No thinking man can ignore the changes which war is working. But surely there is a righteous mean between the extremes of the expiring adherents of autocracy and the intoxicated radicals of deceived and demoralized democracy. Let's prove the republic the highest agency of humanity's just aspirations.

TO PRESERVE NATIONAL RIGHTS

My countrymen, I am not crying out in a wilderness of pessimism, I am uttering a warning that comes of love for the republic. Let us go on, no matter what be-tides, to the dependable establishment of our national rights and the safety of our peoples; yes, and the sustained hands of justice among the peoples of the earth. We are no longer able to hold aloof, and the world must be made safe to live in. Let us prove our unity—the common purpose and the unalterable purpose of all Americans to do that—and then let us dedicate ourselves in unity and concord and the same unalterable resolution to the preservation of the inherited republic. I could utter a prayer for an American benediction, to bestow on us the wisdom, the devotion, the faith, and the willingness to sacrifice, which strengthened the fathers in their mighty tasks. I wish we might dwell in their simplicity and frugality and the freedom from envy which attended. I wish I

might end the extravagance of government and of individual life which adds to unrest and rends our strength. It is our besetting sin. We need as much sober thought about what we spend as we need agitation about what we earn in every walk of life. No people shod in \$18 shoes is equipped for the conquering march of civilization.

We do not proclaim ours the perfect republic, nor yet the ideal popular government, but we do maintain it is the best and the freest that the world has ever known, and under it mankind has advanced and achieved as under none other since civilization dawned, and in good conscience and consecrated citizenship and abiding faith and high hope we mean, with God's good guidance, to go on to the fulfillment of the highest American destiny.

CHAPTER IX

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Address before Lincoln Club, Portland, Maine

February 13, 1920

DESTINY made Lincoln the agency of the fulfillment, held the inherited covenant inviolate and gave him to the ages. No words can magnify or worship glorify.

We are recalling him to-night to bring ourselves to a fuller understanding and a keener appreciation of the legacy of his martyrdom. I like to recall him as a Republican. In the majesty of his memory, men of all parties quote him, but no American ever lived who believed more in his party, or who had stronger convictions of the necessity of political parties as the agencies of popular government. He believed our government to rest in public opinion, but looked to his party as the vehicle for expressing that opinion. He did not value the ephemeral opinions of a day, nor the clamor of haste; he clung to the convictions which could appeal to the judgment of posterity. He was neither opportunist nor advocate of expediency. He was mighty in conviction and clung to the Constitution and the supremacy of law as sole assurance of maintained civilization and national life.

DUTY OF CITIZENSHIP

In his day there was unrevealed the modern problem of the foreign born. In his day the emigrant voyaged to citizenship, and came to participate, and was promptly received into the accepted responsibilities of citizenship. If he lived to-day, with his great heart athrob for the future stability of the republic, I can fancy him crying out that there are no privileges of American citizenship except for those who assume its duties, and there is no room anywhere in free America except for those who subscribe to orderly government under the law.

Lincoln the nationalist could never have been an internationalist. Through four years of an imperiled republic he maintained the foreign relations inspired by the fathers. No one questions his towering greatness, no one challenges that he was astep with highest human progress, yet he revered Washington and held his teachings to be sacredly important. He would dim no light of experience to fix his course by a light he knew not of. Perhaps we never shall know all of the tact and all the wisdom employed in preserving uninvolved relations when the world found it difficult to adjust commercial selfishness to seeming neutrality. How practical he was to arrange for the impressive visit of the Russian fleet in an hour of growing peril, and end the obligation promptly by paying the expenses in the added price paid for the purchase of Alaska! He believed in the people, but he cloaked that transaction because its revealment would have added to war's complications.

EXPONENT OF NATIONALITY

I do not believe Lincoln would have this expanded and enriched republic of more than a hundred millions hold aloof from the world, or avoid a single duty in furthering world civilization. His heart would have rejoiced at our part in halting the military autocracy of Germany in its ruthless pursuit of world domination. I think he would have speeded the righteous resistance of the abridgment of our national rights. I am sure the distressed condition of the Old World to-day would touch his great heart, as it has all humanity's, but I am very certain he would never surrender the nationality for which he sacrificed and fought to any supergovernment of the world, no matter what its title or its purposes might be. He would cling to the American conscience as the guiding light of a confident republic.

He was a believer in opportunity as the highest offering of free America. It was his belief that "every American should have a fair start and an unfettered chance in the race for life." That was the doctrine of Jefferson in his proclaimed equal rights, that was the policy of Hamilton who demanded a government strong enough to guarantee them. That was the "square deal" of Theodore Roosevelt. That was the Golden Rule of the "Man of Nazareth."

AMERICA AFFORDS EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

It is America's supreme offering to-day—equal opportunity to all men and reward as they merit it. Civil liberty protects them in righteous acquirement. Any-

thing less is an abridgment of liberty. Men must achieve according to their talents, according to the metal that is in them, else there is no human progress. The adopted standards of mediocrity would halt all human progress.

Class legislation is likewise a perversion of liberty and class domination puts an end to liberty's justice. Let us hold our America the republic that Lincoln preserved for posterity, freedom under the Constitution, security under the law, and stability under the law's unchallenged supremacy.

CHAPTER X

GENERAL GRANT'S REPUBLICANISM

*Address at Grant Dinner, Middlesex Club, Boston,
Massachusetts, 1916*

GENTLEMEN OF THE MIDDLESEX CLUB—When General Grant was at Spottsylvania, facing obstacles and discouragements which would have halted any other commander of Union forces, he took note of his appalling losses of general officers and men in the ranks observed anew his surroundings, saw the horrifying conflicts yet to come, assured himself of certainty of ultimate triumph, then penned his letter to General Halleck, which proclaimed the Union ultimately restored. It was typical of the simplicity and the unalterable determination of this rugged, silent leader to say that "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." It did take all summer, but he knew he was right, and pushed on and on, irresistibly on until disunion at Bull Run was turned to reunion at Appomattox. There is no finer instance of conscientious conviction and unswerving purpose in all the making of American history, and I would have the great political party to which General Grant belonged, and with which he served, gather inspiration and assurance from his memory and example.

We were everlastingly right in the principles for

which we contended when disunion rended our usefulness in 1912. We believed in the fundamental principles then for which we stand to-day, and we purpose to hold the charter of Republicanism inviolate, just as Grant fought to preserve the ark of the American political covenant. We stand to-day, as in the party's beginning, committed to the fundamental principle of representative democracy and the American policy of tariff protection, and we mean to fight it out on these lines "if it takes all summer," this year and next. Millions of volunteer enlistments are awaiting the call, and everywhere, north, south, east and west, is manifest eagerness to see the Republican reunion, confident that Republican victory means the country's restoration.

No sign above the political horizon was ever so conspicuous—the Republican party is coming back in a sweeping national victory. Mark you, there is no doubt about the ultimate result. The Republican party is coming back because it is once more proved to be right, because the country needs Republican policies and attending good fortune, because Republican capacity to construct and administer to the highest advantage of the American people has been magnified anew by the chastening which always attends a Democratic administration.

POLITICAL PRINCIPLES IMPORTANT

Political whims and popular personalities will come and go, but a political principle stands everlastingly true; sometimes it is obscured by the passing storm, but it stands like a beacon unchanging, to guide the

pilots of nations. It is consistent devotion to principle which holds the Republican party as the hope and promise of the American people to-day. Thoughtful observers believed they saw the end in 1912. But when the atmosphere was cleared of the conflicts of personalities and the resort to expediciencies and surrender to exigencies and appeals to prejudices, there loomed the monuments of Republican constructiveness, there stood the foundations on which to rebuild.

The Republican party endures because of its unalterable faith in our representative form of government, as conceived by the inspired fathers, upon whose foundation we have builded to surpassing national glory. We believe in representative democracy as adopted in the Federal Constitution, and proclaim it to be the highest and best form and plan of a people's rule ever fashioned by mankind for the commonweal. We believe that upon this principle we have made orderly progress and unequaled advancement, until the record of that progress is the greatest heritage of American citizenship. We believe sincerely in the rule of the people, not through unthinkingly broadened responsibilities, but through the conscience-driven, reasoning exercise of a citizenship made sovereign from the beginning.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IS BASIS

Equal rights and equal opportunity were proclaimed at the very start—Liberty's first contributions to the federal foundation—they have been sacredly maintained, and in their exercise our people have wrought to the astonishment of all the nations of civilization,

Though Jefferson was their conspicuous advocate, he was no more influential in their establishment than Franklin, who insisted on safeguarding by constitutional provision, and Hamilton, who demanded a nationality ample to guarantee them. Thus was the Republican party consecrated to these indestructible principles by its Federalist forebears, and reconsecrated by that martyred hero who saved the nation—Abraham Lincoln. He said we are for “a fair start and an unfettered chance in the race of life,” and the Republican party holds to the same doctrine, unalterably to-day. Turn specifically to the birth of the Republican party, and the record recites its committal to the cause of human rights at the altar of its christening; it has been consistent and sincere in every reiteration; points to performance to prove the wisdom of its promises; may always cite its pledges kept as an index to party conscience, and finds the reflex of its unwavering progression in the American standard of living and the matchless story of American accomplishment. We opened to equal rights and equal opportunities the avenues of reward. Our party exalted human rights by providing conditions for higher attainment. We could not revise human nature nor abolish greed; we could not stamp out envy nor eliminate selfishness, nor eradicate jealousy; we could not establish the equality of capacity or reward. But we did apply the best of thought and honest intent to the solutions of problems that attend exceptional growth, and mean to go on, deliberately, orderly, conscientiously, yielding not to prejudice nor passion, but strengthening the weak in the supremacy of law, al-

ways avoiding destruction, where possible, seeking to cure and preserve, always advancing to the ideal over safe and proven paths.

Looking back now, when the reflective vision is unimpaired, I venture to say that the country and our political parties need a new baptism of truth. We were aware of mistaken attitudes and unapproved practises in our party in 1912, not without extenuating circumstances, however, but we were too wrought up by conflict to cure in needed deliberation. We had keener vision for national perils than for party weakness. We endangered our party system by the abuse of it, and we needed awakening to the truth to effect a cure. Inspired by the country's call for a Republican return, we shall be strongly equipped in a new consecration to everlasting truth, and let the Democratic party revel in expediency and new paramounts which invariably lead to disappointment. There was the double lure of expediency in 1912, and the confusion of double opposition. The combination put the Democratic party in power, and routed the Republican forces, but the ultimate result is the awakening of the country to a realization of the indissoluble relation between Republican policies and a people's good fortune.

REPUBLICANISM MEANS PROSPERITY

It seems characteristic of our American life that we must have periodical Democratic paralysis to bring us to appreciation of the healthful glow of Republican activity. I am thinking of 1892 and 1896. After that visitation of Democratic disaster and depression, wrought in the name of cheapness and the freedom of

buying in the markets of the world, there came a fevered frenzy to banish a symptom rather than remove a cause. The people believed we needed more and cheaper money. Mr. Bryan's cross of gold loomed up like a flaming comet and harbinger of destruction. But the Republican party clung to the truth, it proclaimed the cause and offered a cure, and an understanding people went to the ballot-box and took Mr. Bryan's crown of thorns and transformed it into a wreath of bloom, redolent of the perfume of abundant prosperity, and placed it on the brow of that greatest of all apostles of protection, the revered and trusted William McKinley.

The situation is analogous to-day, and the Republican party will cling to a great, saving truth. If we have one distinguishing characteristic above all others, ours is the party of protection. Under its banner our party has achieved its most notable triumphs and wrought the greatest good fortune to the American people. Any surrender or apologetic modification will dim our most glorious identity. Not all the country wanted the abandonment of a protective tariff. Owing to the mutterings of selfishness, which can not be escaped, no matter how loftily we aim, part of the people thought we ought to "sharpen our wits in competition with the world," but it was a minority which voted for the new freedom which soon became an old and unhappy idleness. But Democracy delivered and a nation was distressed.

But Democracy did not deliver the expected lowering of prices, because sixteen years of Republican

good fortune had established a higher standard of living, and with it a higher capacity to live, and the fulness of Democratic destruction was averted by the cataclysm of European war, which saved us from the competition against which the Democratic party would not protect us. Last year, when the situation was new and little understood, President Wilson shifted the responsibility for retarded activities from psychological depression to the effects of war. The actual truth challenges contradiction—the European war has given the only impetus that has marked production in the United States since the passage of the Underwood tariff, and it is said without rejoicing. Our people do not want to prosper at the bloody sacrifice of the brave men in Europe, locked in the conflict of horrifying war; our aspirations are in the triumphs of peace. We want the good fortunes that come of American markets for Americans, with our higher wages, higher standards and larger capacity to buy. We have proven again and again the beneficence of protection, and our people, again awakened to appreciation, want the policy restored. Nobody pretends that any Republican tariff law has been perfect, but none has ever been destructive. I choose a tariff law like Methodist liberality in baptism—sprinkling at least, pouring if one believes that way, immersion if necessary, and redemption under one of the three. The party which believes in protection must look to its perfection. Our party was progressing in that direction when it was distracted by the contest over candidates which ended in our undoing. It is not to be said that Republican

protection has made for unvarying good fortune, but it is political history that Democratic revision invariably makes for depression and holds it uninterrupted until we apply Republican relief.

NEED PROTECTIVE POLICIES

Henceforth we must look above and beyond the unceasing and selfish wrangle about schedules, and comprehend from the broader view. Under Republican protective policies we have the larger and a general prosperity; we have doubled or trebled wage scale and abundance of employment; we have the higher standard of living and the larger capacity to buy. It is not what the consumer pays, it is the consumer's ability to buy that counts. Democracy's error lies in thinking only of the consumer, but a Republican knows it is the producer that counts. One must produce before he can consume, and American eminence is the reflex of a well-paid, fully-employed nation of producers. If protection and its alleged robbery are leading to oppression, as Democracy asserts, let some knowing Democrat tell us why the incoming tide of immigration always floods our shores when Republican good fortune obtains. It is so true that opponents have urged that we protect our products, but do not protect the laborer. Every experience refutes the charge. When the tide of Republican good fortune is at the flood we need every newcomer to perform our tasks; common labor would be left undone without them. They do not lower the wage, they ascend to the American heights. And they do not come to seek a new existence in oppression or industrial slavery, but pour

into this New-World haven of liberty and hope to find equal rights, the reward of industry and merit and opportunity, and mount the plane of exalted American citizenship.

I am not blind to the admonition that the Republican party must take advanced ground to win popular favor. It may be noted, too, that those most insistently urging this, are declaring for the effacement of the men who have been conspicuous in the past. Let me warn you, fellow Republicans, the way to victory and the country's restoration is not in recrimination, but reconsecration. To efface the old guard, so-called, really a term of honor rather than opprobrium, which saved us from utter dissolution and gave us a party around which to rally, would be like effacing the veterans who turned the tide of rebellion at Gettysburg in '63. Nay, more, it would be like discrediting Grant's irresistible army which moved unfalteringly on, despite the discouraging losses, from the Wilderness to Appomattox and melted their swords and bayonets in the fires of conflict to rivet anew the ties of a saved and henceforth and forever indissoluble nation. At the same time let it be understood that there need be neither foreswearing nor apology on the part of those who enlisted in the Progressive cause of 1912. I can utter a cordial and sincere welcome to the reenlistment of any or all. The country is calling, the cause is a people's need, and the glory of things to be will make trivial the bitterness that came of things which could not be. Let us turn from the unhappy wreck of 1912 and look to relieving the country of the misfortune which attended. The party has proved its

capacity to survive; let us work together to make it the instrumentality of highest usefulness under popular government through political parties.

SANE PROGRESSIVISM NEEDED

It is well, however, to ponder the tendency to break away from some of our old-fashioned moorings. Ours is intended to be a representative government, and has grown to gratifying eminence after nearly a century and a half of trials and storms and passing passions and prejudice. It was never intended to be excessively paternal nor socialistically fraternal. Yet there is a drift to both, and there is only a step between. Plunder and greed on the one hand, and appeal to prejudice and hate on the other are swelling the throngs of Socialism, which will turn our genius and talent and industry into paralyzed efficiency. Surely there is a path of political righteousness aloof from these threatening dangers. With conscience awakened, let us make it more sensitive; with men heeding, let us weave new strength into the moral fiber of individual American manhood; with public interest awakened, let us make honesty the first requisite of men and political parties, and apply it as the surest cure of all social and political and economic ills. Meanwhile, remembering that subsistence is the essential foundation on which man must stand to reach for the ideal, let us think of the upkeep as well as the uplift, and assure our millions the subsistence from which they may aspire.

We wish our party to be sanely, safely, genuinely progressive. We want its reflective of the best thought

of our most helpful activities. But we must remember that material progress and human rights are not incompatible, but are inseparable, and any policy which hinders legitimate business halts the onward procession. We have suffered from that tendency because there has been a disposition to make political declarations more designed to enlist votes than advance the people. Some times there is stronger inclination to exploit than to exalt. We have made stronger appeal to expectation than to realization. It is not enough, to be sure, to live in the past, but it must stir the Republican heart to realize that our surpassing American progress has come largely through Republican policies, and chiefly under Republican administration. It is no disparagement of the best interests of any political party to say the Republican party reflects the best conscience of the best civilization the world has ever witnessed. Our party represents that conscience because we are political sponsors for things accomplished. We have not dreamed, we have realized. We have not obstructed, we have constructed. We have not pretended, we have performed. We have not halted or faltered, we have attained and sustained. We have pride in things done—the highest reward of worthy endeavor, and we have the faith that sustains every national hope of the future. For the things for which we have not been, because conditions were not ready, for the things which ought to be, we may strive together, making the conscience and the judgment of the majority the will of the party. Any other plan spells the failure of government of the people through political parties.

RENEWED CONSECRATION

The things most needed are not new ideas, but new sincerity and a new consecration to truth already uttered. With McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft our party declared for a restored merchant marine, and were hindered not alone by the Democratic party, but by Republicans recreant to the party's pledges. They were deterred by the clamor about special privilege and government favoritism, things which never halted the triumphant fathers. They provided subsidies and subventions and discriminating tonnage taxes and preferential tariffs on cargoes shipped in American bottoms, and they whitened the seas with American sails and acquainted the world with the American flag. The preservation of their policies would have maintained our prestige as carriers by seas, but we abandoned our upbuilding and it heralded our undoing. Finally war brought us to realization. Except in a limited sense, war paralyzed the carriers of our competitors, and blocked their shipping lines which we builded for them, out of our freights, to aid them in defeating our commercial expansion. Then when the unsupplied markets of the world turned to us, and trade beckoned as never before, and opportunity awaited as opportunity rarely does await, we found ourselves unable to respond, and missed the opportunity for the miracle of expansion. Democracy awoke to the error of its persistent opposition, declined to confess its mistaken attitude and turned to substitute federal ownership for the subsidy it condemned.

We build the Panama Canal at forty millions out-

lay, and say to world shipping: "Here is an American gift to further your fortunes." I think the time has come to do something for American shipping, to add to our conquest of world markets, while enhancing our prosperity at home. This policy has been the wish of Republican majorities, but we failed to write the wish of the majority into party and national law. But we can do it now, and we will; a restored and triumphant American merchant marine shall be the first contribution of returned Republicanism to greater national glory.

HOME PRODUCTION URGED

We have heard something lately of a slogan—"Made in the U. S. A." No other political party can so becomingly adopt it. We like "made in the U. S. A.," and mean to protect the making and the makers. And we mean to be consistent by buying in the U. S. A., and not only commend the policy to American citizens, but demand the practise by the American government. It was lacking in patriotism for the government to buy abroad the million-dollar cranes for the completed Panama Canal, because European toilers worked for less, when our own workmen needed the employment. It shows a lack of mutuality of interest to have American railroads go to Canada for thousands of tons of steel rails, and reveals the weakness of our system which gives our markets to Canadians when they have none of their own and we need ours most at home. "Made in the U. S. A." is the making of the U. S. A., and the Republican party would make it a glad reality, an assurance of accom-

plishment at home and a herald of American superiority abroad. There is little use to make if we do not buy. And little use to make if we do not sell, and we need our own ocean carriers to deliver.

While honoring Grant to-night, let us recall his advice on this subject, written in the deliberation of his reflections when he penned his memoirs—thirty years ago. The great commander wrote:

“Now scarcely twenty years after the war, we seem to have forgotten the lessons it taught, and we are going on as if in the greatest security, without the power to resist invasion. . . . We should have a good navy, and our seacoast defenses should be put in the finest possible condition. . . . Money expended in a fine navy not only adds to our security and tends to prevent war, but is a material aid to our commerce.”

The truth is more apparent to-day. Naval preparedness for defense is not preparation for invasion. Safeguarding tranquillity is not eagerness for conquest. The United States has no such purpose. Our territory is ample. Texas alone has as many square miles and as many fertile acres as the German empire, which holds the Allies of Europe at bay. We are so large, so seemingly measureless, so physically beyond comparison, that I think, sometimes, Democratic failure is due to lack of realization of our greatness, and the requisites of greatness in solving its own problem. Where European coast lines count hundreds, ours measure thousands, and we require for “safety first,” not only the best of coast defenses, but we ought to have the first and best navy in the world. It will guard our commerce, our sea, and guarantee our tran-

quillity at home. It will cheer Missouri as it comforts Massachusetts, and make the American voice for peace more an argument and less an appeal.

THE AWAKENED CONSCIENCE

Mr. Toastmaster, no Republican, no American can be blind to the agitation and the strife for reformation which marked our political activity during the past half dozen years. If in the contest between radicalism and conservatism the pendulum was far-swung to the former, let us hold to all the good which was wrought and guard against the excessive backward swing.

In that retrospection which makes for inspiration, there grows the conviction that Republican progress, written in half a century of Republican accomplishment, seems more like the miracle of a national destiny than the story of a political party and its tasks in statecraft. But the truth abides, incomparable and incontrovertible. We have not only made a nation, rough-hewn and popularly governed, the marvel of development among great nations; we have contributed to the uplift, emphasized human rights and elevated the standard of living; we have not only become leaders in finance and industry; we have not only become equals in education and rivals in art, but we are the inspiration and example of other republics, and ought to be, could be, influencing the idealization of the government of the earth. Thus runs the epitome of Republican accomplishment. It justifies our pride in the past, explains the nation-wide turning to the party for the country's restoration, and gives every assurance of glorious triumphs in the future.

CHAPTER XI

VOTE ON DECLARATION OF WAR WITH GERMANY

*Address in the Senate of the United States,
Wednesday, April 4, 1917*

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, had under consideration the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 1) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same.

MR. PRESIDENT—I am conscious of the impatience of the Senate to reach a vote on the pending joint resolution, and I do not find myself impelled to enter into any extended discussion of the matter pending; but I do realize the gravity of the moment, and I want to say for myself at least a few things that will help to avoid a wrong impression coming from the action to be taken by this body.

I want those whom I am seeking to represent in this body to understand that I am not voting for war in response to the alleged hysteria of a subsidized or English-owned press. I want to take this opportunity of resending the charge that the press of the United States is either owned or subsidized by any foreign power. I do not hesitate to say that I think the American press is the best safeguard we have to the American spirit, and the best advocate we have of our American liberties.

I want it known also that I am not voting for war in response to the campaign of the munition makers, for there has been none.

NOT FIGHTING IN NAME OF DEMOCRACY

I want especially to say, Mr. President, that I am not voting for war in the name of democracy. I want to emphasize that fact for a moment, because much has been said upon that subject on this floor. It is my deliberate judgment that it is none of our business what type of government any nation on this earth may choose to have; and one can not be entirely just unless he makes the admission in this trying hour that the German people evidently are pretty well satisfied with their government, because I could not ask a better thing for this popular government of the United States of America than the same loyal devotion on the part of every American that the German gives to his government.

I am not unmindful, Senators, that the great Julius Cæsar fought the battles of the Roman republic, and his assassins saw him bequeath an empire to Augustus. I am not unmindful that the great Bonaparte fought his battles in the name of the first French republic, and his ambition left an empire that faded at St. Helena. It does not matter so much, Senators, what the form of government may be if the people existing under that government are content therewith. More depends on the human agency that administers the government; and it is my deliberate judgment to-night that it is up to us to demonstrate the permanency of a republic before we enter upon a world-wide war to establish

democracy. We may well leave that to the other nations concerned.

TO MAINTAIN AMERICAN RIGHTS

I want it known to the people of my state and to the nation that I am voting for war to-night for the maintenance of just American rights, which is the first essential to the preservation of the soul of this republic. Why, Senators, perhaps it has been an obsession with me, but in watching the trend of events since the outbreak of the European war and the endeavor to influence popular sentiment in this republic I reached a stage where I doubted if we had that unanimity of sentiment which is necessary for the preservation of this free government. We had reached a stage where seemingly we were without a soul. Somehow or other we had deadened the fires under the American melting pot, and it looked as though we were a divided people. On the floor of this Senate, where above all else we ought to preach American unity and the maintenance of American rights, I have heard doctrines preached which indicated divisions and selfish interests, which suggested that these United States of America, instead of going on to the fulfillment of the splendid destiny that the fathers must have had in mind, were becoming a mere collocation of states rather preferring to live in ease and comfort and selfish attainments than to know the spirit that becomes this boasted, popular government.

TO PRESERVE AMERICA

And so, Mr. President, to-night, in the grave situation that I full well realize, with the understanding of every responsibility that goes with the vote, I vote for this joint resolution to make war—not a war thrust upon us, if I could choose the language of the resolution, but a war declared in response to affronts; a war that will at least put a soul into our American life; a war not for the cause of the Allies of Europe; a war not for France, beautiful as the sentiment may be in reviving at least our gratitude to the French people; not precisely a war for civilization, worthy and inspiring as that would be; but a war that speaks for the majesty of a people popularly governed, who finally are brought to the crucial test where they are resolved to get together and wage a conflict for the maintenance of their rights and the preservation of the covenant inherited from the fathers.

Why, Mr. President, not so very long ago, in the mail which comes to me as it does to every member of this body, a constituent wrote me asking: "Why seek to preserve American rights? There is no distinctly American nationality," said he. "We are a mixture or a blend or an aggregation of all the peoples of the world, and we have been surrendering our rights, notably in Mexico. Why insist upon them now?" I said to him, as I say to the Senate now: "The momentary suspension of American rights, or the temporary toleration of an attack on American rights, does not mean their surrender." I said to him further: "If there is no one who is distinctly Ameri-

can, then, in the name of the republic, it is time that we find one." I hope that out of this great tumult of the world, and our part therein, there will spring from Columbia's loins the real American, believing in popular government, and willing to suffer and sacrifice, if need be, to maintain the rights of that government and the people thereunder. I believe that this is the great essential to the perpetuity of the American republic—the maintenance of rights in confidence, absolutely without selfish interest.

GUARANTEE OF NATIONALITY

We have given to the world a spectacle of a great nation that could make war without selfish intent. We unsheathed the sword some eighteen years ago, for the first time in the history of the world, in the name of humanity, and we gave proof to the world at that time of an unselfish nation. Now, whether it is fate or fortune or the travail of destiny, it has come to us to unsheathe the sword again, not alone for humanity's sake—though that splendid inspiration will be involved—but to unsheathe the sword against a great power in the maintenance of the rights of the republic, in that maintenance which will give to us a new guaranty of nationality. That is the great thing, and I want it known, Mr. President and Senators, that this is the impelling thought with me for one when I cast my vote.

I have been told, and the senator from Wisconsin (Mr. LaFollette), who stood here to-day, gave us the warning that we were taking up a perilous cause. He made the argument that the nation which was willing

to follow the submarine warfare could probably assert itself against the combined powers of the globe. Mr. President, not since the world began, not since civilization wrote its first page in history, has it been given to any one nation to dominate the earth. World domination is not of man. That is of God, the Creator. It has become the fortune of this republic to cry "halt!" to a maddened power casting aside the obligations of civilization and the limitations of that which we look upon as highest humanity. I know that the task will be undertaken by the American people not originally committed to the cause of war, but a people who will understand that when the Congress speaks after due deliberation, after the patience which this body and this government have exercised, the voice of the United States Congress is the voice of the nation, and one hundred millions of people will commit themselves to the great cause of the maintenance of just American rights—a thing for which the nation can well afford to fight, and while fighting for it put a new soul into a race of American people who can enthusiastically call themselves truly and spiritually and abidingly an American people.

CHAPTER XII

AMERICA IN THE WAR

*Address at the Ohio Republican State Convention,
Columbus, Ohio, August 27, 1918*

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION—The statement that “politics is adjourned” needs revision. Disloyalty and indifference are adjourned, and patriotism flames high above and beyond party lines for the winning of the war. The first and foremost thought of every real American is the armed triumph of America and her allies, with Germany brought to kneel at the altar of international pentinence. Minority hampering of the government in prosecuting the war has not been adjourned, because there was none to adjourn. The few obstructionists, long since shamed into obscurity, bore no party credentials, but were disavowed by the party to which they previously adhered. No party worthy of trust in peace or war invites or accepts the fellowship of any who is not one hundred per cent. American in the hour of the republic’s peril.

And “politics is adjourned” never can be true of a nation popularly governed through the instrumentality of political parties. These parties are inseparable from every vital step in national life. Abolish them and

personal government becomes the substitute, and absolute, and violates every conception of representative popular government.

PARTISANISM FORGOTTEN

The strife for partisan advantage amid the anxieties of war, partisan opposition designed to delay and hinder—these have been discountenanced by the Republican minority since the day the Congress committed the country to defend national rights and the safety of civilization. We submerged partisan lines for the concord of the republic, and in Congress and out the present minority party has given to the president the most cordial and whole-hearted and abiding support ever given to any federal executive by a minority party since the republic began. To be Americans first rivets our devotion as Republicans. We must save the republic which we aim to exalt.

It is the simple truth, not spoken in disparagement of any one, the patriotic conscience of the republic, wounded and suffering through affront and outrage before we declared war, the war declaration and the consecration of the human and material energies of republic to its winning, have been more cordially and effectively sustained by the Republican minority than by the dominant party in control of the government.

REPUBLICANS SUPPORTED WAR

It is not said to boast. It was a patriotic duty, readily and gladly performed. It hastened the spiritual preparedness of our people. It speeded all America to unalterable committal and undivided support. It

developed a national soul aflame. It gave notice to the world, and Germany in particular, that this great free people, in spite of partisan lines and sectional differences and varied interests and conflicting opinions, even with sedition taught and tolerated, we could be one people, heart and soul, to give to our last dollar and our last heart-beat to maintain national rights and the freedom of the world.

There will be, there can be no limitations to our unalterable committal. Patient, tolerable, forbearing, more than forgiving, we humbled our pride and held aloof when an earlier entry would have answered the call of a righteous self-respect, but we are committed to the task now, and nothing will satisfy but an unconditional triumph. This conscience-awakened generation will not turn slacker and pass on to another the conflict between might and frightfulness on the one hand and humanity and justice on the other.

I do not know how long it will last. I do not know what the cost in lives and treasure will be. I can not estimate the measure of sacrifice and suffering and sorrow. I do know the unalterableness of our conscience-driven committal.

NEW BIRTH OF NATIONAL SOUL

This is an epoch in the world. We have witnessed the new birth of the national soul. We are all American from this time on. No prefixes, no apologies, no limitations, simply unalloyed, unconditional, unalterable, all-American.

When Congress had before it the question of arming our merchant shipping for self-defense, an Ohio citi-

zen of foreign birth wrote me in protest against the proposed arming, admonishing me not to be too concerned about American rights, because, said he, "there is no distinctly American citizen." In my amazement I made reply and said: "If it be true, as you urge, that there is to-day no distinctly American citizen, then in God's name, out of this turmoil of the world, out of this travail of civilization, let us have a real and distinct American spring from Columbia's loins, to leave a race of real Americans hereafter." And from this day on he who chooses existence on American soil and profits on beckoning American opportunity, and wears the garb of American citizenship, must be American in his heart and soul. No republic can endure half loyal, half disloyal. The protection and advantages of citizenship demand the duties and obligations of that citizenship. We are to be right at home and righteous in world relationship to make the republic worthy its best aspirations and prove exemplar to the world that orderly, popular government is a diviner thing than divinity of kings.

I recognize with utter frankness the difficulty and embarrassment in formulating a minority party policy in a time so fraught with anxiety, when the winning of the war transcends all else. Under a party government ours is not the direct responsibility, but no party sponsorship marks patriotic devotion. Country first! Win the war! Speed a peace with overwhelming victory! Conscious of a loyal minority's part, we pledge our all. A proclaiming Republican who is not heart and soul for American and allied triumph can have no voice in our councils to-day and can not appraise the

pricelessness of our achievement sufficiently to have a helpful say in the aftermath to come.

REPUBLICANS URGE CONCORD

Our most trusted leaders in public life, those best equipped to know and speak the aspirations of party and nation, have put concord of American spirit and unity of endeavor far above and beyond partisan ends, party policy and personal convictions. There is repressed outcry about unending instances of discouraging incompetency, distressing errors, and shocking incapacity, but it has been better to press remedial attention than to rend our concord and mar the confidence of a trusting people.

Much of disappointment, much of delay, much of shocking wastefulness would come of unpreparedness, where a people dwelling in fancied security are suddenly drawn unexpectedly and unwillingly into the surpassing conflict of all civilization. It is little use now to grieve over the costly inactivity during the precious days when we saw the world-war flames mounting higher and higher and men in authority knew—aye, they knew—we were sure to be involved. It is little use now to recite the regrettable story of our first wasted year in the war. It is better to fix our eager gaze on the million and a half irresistible American fighting men, whom we speeded to Europe far in advance of early intentions, because imperiled freedom and civilization stirred us to the republic's best endeavor. Let us satisfy our hunger for achievement in the indisputable evidence that the armed sons of the republic have turned the tide of war.

The Republican party, in the position of opposition, after the glorious years of constructive responsibility doesn't mean to turn to nagging faultfinding in Congress or on the stump while the flag is imperiled. We will await our return to power and correct the errors of a party unfitted by teaching and unsuited because of its dominant elements for the best advancement of our great republic.

INVESTIGATIONS PROVE HELPFUL

We have supported the cause, we have striven to speed this mighty people to the performance of a real man's part in the engrossing struggle. Not a few thought—and some in high places proclaimed—that the several investigations in Congress were designed to embarrass or discredit the work of the administration. Nothing was further from the truth. Congress, feeling the impelling conscience of the country, was seeking to produce, not hinder. That there was minority insistence need not be surprising in our era of drift on the majority's part toward congressional abdication. But the purpose was patriotic and helpful beyond measure. These investigations turned failure into developed might. I can speak of one instance with personal knowledge.

For thirty years the Republican party had been declaring for and striving for a restored merchant marine. We wanted it for commercial eminence in peace and a military and naval auxiliary in war. We urged only few millions from the federal treasury to aid American genius and industry to restore the prestige taken from us by a like policy. But the party now in power

maintained its abiding opposition and the war found us without the shipping necessary to carry on war across the broad Atlantic. We hurriedly appropriated hundreds of millions, and yet more hundreds of millions, to do what private enterprises would have accomplished with a relative pittance of encouragement. But there was delay and dispute and well-grounded alarm, with Germany destroying the allied carriers and our own at sea. Finally, by calling the attention of Congress to the growing menace I unintentionally became sponsor for a resolution to investigate. Partisan intent was charged, but we did investigate, and we stirred to endeavor, and we corrected colossal blunders. My point is that we helped instead of hampered.

RECONSTRUCTION AHEAD

I think there is courage, practicability, lofty patriotism and highly unselfish partisanship to consecrate the minority party energies to the supreme task at hand. We will call for the big accounting when the fitting time comes, and such a time will come.

We can not define the constructive and obstructive policies which will be pressing on the morrow of peace. We shall only claim the conscience and capacity, already proven, to work out the best solution. We are free from committal to the fundamental changes made in the name of war.

There are to come the tremendous problems of reconstruction and restoration. To make popular government capable of self-defense we have swung far in granting excess power to the executive. It was seemingly necessary, and most of the astounding grants are

for the war period alone. They would be intolerable in peace—would be a perversion of every ideal of representative popular government. We have a right to assume the automatic resumption of the normal state, but power is seldom surrendered with the same willingness with which it is granted in the hour of great emergency. But I think the conscience and conviction of the republic will demand the restored inheritances of the founding fathers. I know the Republican party will stand for only the modifications which are decided upon in the deliberate reflection of peace, not the enforced and destroying changes wrought in the exigencies and anxieties of war.

Some powers are exercised without specific grant, contrary to all we boast in the rule of democracy. The leadership of the president is never to be disputed in the disposition of patriotic endeavor against a foreign foe, but the interference of the president in domestic affairs far removed from executive authority reveals a tendency toward usurpation which we must and do oppose in our devotion to the cherished inheritance of political freedom.

A political leader, proclaiming politics adjourned, poorly sustains the pronouncement when he tells any state, Republican or Democrat, whom to send to the Senate. Party leadership does justify partisan council, but executive sponsorship or presidential branding, whether it is the Okeh on an opulent Ford or the brand of disapproval on a Republican or Democrat who rejects the rubber-stamp service, savors more of autocracy than representative democracy. It was resented in Wisconsin and will be resented in Michigan,

and patriotism will be exalted. Parties and peoples in the several states of the Union are still capable of choosing their spokesmen in Congress in peace or war, else we acknowledge the failure of the very institutions which we commend to the world.

NOT THE PRESIDENT'S WAR

This isn't exclusively the president's war. See the campaign bulletin boards of 1916 for the disavowal. This isn't a party war, because the majority party in Congress was too divided to declare it and too divided to prosecute it. This is the war of the American people, answering an offended people's resolution to defend the nation's rights. The president is official leader and recognized commander-in-chief, and we mean to back him up to the limit of our energies and resources, but as leader of the Democratic party we challenge his unwarranted assumption of autocratic political authority.

Democratic party politics hasn't been adjourned for one hour in the control of the government by the administration now in power. I do not presume to say our party would have been less vigilant in strengthening the party hold on the reins of government. It is inopportune now to audit the account, and note the sacrifices of a nation's interests for partisan advantage, but peace will call for the revealing story.

Nor can we survive the appeal to mass against class, nor surrender proven policies to organized might. Thoughtful students of human progress recognize the great changes war is working. There are changes economical, changes sociological, changes political.

The world must change in such a tumult. And we ought to advance, we must grow better, else all the sacrificed lives will be spent in vain.

We are far adrift toward the socialized state. The seizure of the railroads did not proclaim it, because that action was an apparent necessity. The seizure of the communication lines was more revealing. Authority was asked on the plea that it was needed for a possible emergency, and the intention to take them over was emphatically disclaimed. In two weeks after the grant of authority was passed, without an emergency arising, without a proclaimed necessity, the seizure was made. Another step taken! Others will follow. No man can mark the halting place. War authority is almost limitless, and while the sons of the republic are battling to make the world safe for democracy, the radicals at home are making the republic the realm of state socialism. If it were only for the war there would be less concern. Any one who looks to complete restoration after peace comes again is blind to the speeding current in our national life.

There are, indeed, tasks to come. We achieved under representative democracy, and we ought to preserve it. We boasted civil liberty, human liberty and religious liberty, the triune of American freedom, and we ought to hold them inviolate. We developed the republic to world eminence, literally to supreme eminence in this surpassing trial of civilization, through the absolute equality of opportunity to all men and unalterable law of regarding merit, but the socialized state will blight it all.

INTERNATIONALISM DECRIED

We gloried in nationality, now we are contemplating internationality. Modern conditions, eliminated distances, banished aloofness—all put human kind in closer touch. Many of the new obligations we can not escape. We do not mean to shirk them.

No one need to be surprised if old issues are given new life. I look to see favorite Republican policies take on renewed importance. Addressing Congress last winter the president declared for the removal of all barriers of trade. This is the tenet of the international faith. The Socialists demand it. But it can not be now. America will never lower her standards, but they can not be maintained without trade barriers. Let the world advance to ours.

The theory of banished barriers is beautiful, the practise is destroying. American labor will never consent. We must have protection to hold us what we are, and send us on to greater eminence.

DEMOCRATIC EXTRAVAGANCE ATTACKED

The theorists often modify their pet notions when challenged by unalterable conditions. The government is building the mightiest merchant fleet of the world, but the anti-subventionists now openly admit we can't operate it in open world competition, except through governmental assumption of the higher cost that goes with American standards of labor and wage. The treasury will pay the bill, but the people must supply the treasury.

One hesitates to speak of taxation in this day of in-

conceivable expenditure and saturnalia of extravagance. The grumbling is suppressed because the patriotic resolution of the country is steeled to sacrifice and outlay, and denial and burdens. There is ever waste in war, and attending abuses inseparable from war and war's destruction. Ours is the heavier because we have paid for speed, and spent vainly in incompetence. The non-partisan report on this aircraft failure is proof enough. I will not yield to specify. An aggrieved and disappointed nation knows. The popular notion of the hour that it is good to dissipate the resources of the country will become an emphasized folly in the tedious days of liquidated debts when the fever of war has subsided. We ought to have accomplished vastly more at half the cost, but cost is little reckoned now. The present majority will never limit it.

Let none mistake the simple solemn truth; there is great work for any party ahead, a great work for the Republican party. There is no call to cast aside party organization, or diminish party endeavor. No party has had a monopoly on patriotism or loyalty since the republic began, else the republic had failed long ago. We have proven our devotion in every great test. We are best fitted to solve the problems to come, because the errors are not ours, and we are neither called to apologize nor defend. The presidency isn't at issue this year. President Wilson will see the war's end in that period allotted to him by the traditions of American politics, meanwhile we mean to support him cordially, whole-heartedly and patriotically as the republic's commander-in-chief.

CHAPTER XIII

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND AMERICA

*Address before the Republican Rally at Memorial
Hall, Columbus, Ohio, February 23, 1920
(Washington's Birthday)*

FELLOW REPUBLICANS—It is good to touch elbows again, and breathe the spirit of confident Republicanism. It is gratifying to feel a full fellowship in a great political party, which has left such an impress of helpfulness to the republic that all the United States of America are turning to the Republicans for the restoration hoped for in every American heart. So striking is this truth that there is a confident belief that the sectional lines which have heretofore marked the limits of Republican majorities are certain to be broken, and the solid South, Democratic for two generations, henceforth will be no more than a political memory.

Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia and Louisiana are encouraging Republican hopes, and Texas, if not so promising as the others, is demanding the reorganization of the Democratic party, with restored Jeffersonianism, and while it is at it, progressive, ambitious, magnificent Texas may go the whole route to redemption, and turn to confident Republicanism for the realization of its higher aspirations.

The explanation is not difficult. The South is in-

tensely American. It has come to a full realization of the advantages of American nationality, and though its representatives in Congress largely acquiesced in the proposed surrender of nationality, as negotiated in the peace treaty, her people are in outspoken opposition. More, the states of the South, during the world war, came into the glow of fuller American activities, and understand the economics and agencies of their continuance, and wish for the things which were urged and supported in fifty years of notable Republican contribution to American progress. If the expectation of new political alignments in many states of the Union is too optimistic, I would still cherish the hope. In the new Americanism which is the supreme compensation for the sorrows and sacrifices which attended our part in the world war, we want no sectional lines, no North, no South, no East, no West. Let the imaginary lines of old prejudices be forgotten; let mountains divide and rivers separate; let conditions vary and methods change; these United States, with one pride, one confidence, one flag and only one, henceforth and forever constitute one common country.

CIVILIZATION NEVER STANDS STILL

War's frightful upheaval has done more than turn world civilization into a fluid state and leave us wondering what the new crystallization is to be. It did more than threaten the world civilization, first with the domination of autocracy, then in the crash of autocracy it revealed the other extremes, and the eastern continent faces the menace of a destroying democracy. Civilization never stands still. It is decadent or pro-

gressive. In Russia the trend is backward, to the primitive law of force. There is less of liberty in Russia to-day than ever complained of under the czar.

Many a European state is sorely menaced, through distorted visions which come of warfare and its elemental brutalities and unspeakable licenses. But here in America an overwhelming majority still thinks straight, and we mean to go on to higher and better things.

War brought home to us a new appreciation and a new realization of the things which made us what we are, and a new understanding of the essentials of self-dependence and the securities of national defense. It gave us a new impression of the utter necessity of the unchallenged supremacy of the law. It reminded us of the existence of a Federal Constitution—through the tendency to get away from it. It warned us that fancied isolation and righteous intent and insistent neutrality afford no guaranty against involvement. Aye, and it assured us of the power, the majesty, the unconquerableness of a great, free people, patriotically aroused and conscientiously committed.

WE WERE NEGLECTFUL

It cautioned us, also, concerning a weakness in popular government. Amid proclaimed neutrality and uttered wonder at what the war was about, and insisted "peace without victory," we were supine and neglectful about a possible defense while millions were sanctioning "He kept us out of war." And during every hour and every day of all that false proclamation the inner administration circles at Washington knew that

our involvement was inevitable, and we wasted many precious months of preparation, which might have commanded peace, and spared us inestimable expenditure and thousands of sacrificed lives. I am not complaining about the campaign slogan in the false appeal, I am lamenting the neglect of the republic to win an election. Popular government will never be dependably secure until its political agencies and its spokesmen think more of the common weal than of results at the ballot-box. I choose the political party which had rather be right than be victorious, and want the Republican party so committed in this critical period in human progress.

PARTIES GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Parties are the agencies through which representative popular government is administered. The founding fathers so intended and the practise has given to us the most nearly dependable popular government the world has ever witnessed, and it made us what we are, no matter what the faddists say, about abandoning political parties. The same fathers gave us the parties of Hamilton and Jefferson, so opposed in principle and so firmly founded that, in spite of new conditions and the changing order, they run true to form in the present day. Hamilton's solid financial plans might help cure the threatening ills of unduly expanded currency, and his economic ideas gave us the industrial development which saved the allied nations in war and aided our own belated preparations on a gigantic scale which had much to do with the turned tide of world conflict. On the other hand Jefferson

ever opposed a strong federal power and attending nationality, and his most eminent successor and his followers in the present day have sought insistently, almost obstinately, to rend our nationality and merge us as a compliant or suppliant state in a supergovernment of the world.

DANGER MARK WAS NEAR

I think I can assure you the plot has failed. If the people had voted in 1918 as the White House edict commanded, in the most astounding official document ever uttered, we might to-day be Democratic subjects of the autocratic council of nine, with the Old World passing on the obligations of this republic; but since the Senate has resumed its constitutional functions, so long surrendered in order to marshal all our forces for national defense, there will be no betrayal of American nationality.

The war was not partisan, even though it had that aspect in the disappointing days of our earlier committal. There was not a place for the inspiring Roosevelt, though he stood on the ramparts crying out for defended Americanism. It was my fortune to stand sponsor for an amendment to the army bill which would permit him to go with a division of volunteers while we were getting the machinery of universal service in operation, and France was calling for him and wondering that he did not come, yet his offer was ignored. In spite of the early contradictions the war was not partisan, it was consecrated patriotism, shared in by all parties believing in orderly government, and peace might and ought to have been patriotic and the

treaty disposed of without partisan division. But the president insisted on making it partisan, personally if not politically partisan, and held a Senate with its "pygmy minds"—but with constitutional powers—in contempt. Essentially alone he negotiated the surrender of American nationality, and still essentially alone, one in a hundred million, he blocks its final disposition.

COUNTRY WANTS FORMAL PEACE

Many of us, nearly all of us, are for early final action. We want formal peace. It could be brought about in a single day except for the president, who insists the Senate and the country must do his bidding. Europe calls with her assent, the allied nations have spoken approval, all America is eager for the ultimate decision, yet the president, and the president alone, blocks the way. If any one in America wants to make a campaign issue of such obstinacy, let it be so. The Republican party will welcome the responsibility of Americanizing the treaty and recording a preference for things American.

If you would contrast party government and personal government, contemplate threatened pocketing of the treaty if the Senate does not bow to the presidential will, or the threatened withdrawal of the treaty if the council of foreign powers doesn't revise the Italian and Jugo-Slavic boundaries to the Wilsonian committal—dictatorially withdrawing the sacred covenant, which the Senate's failure to sanction was going to break the heart of the world!

It has not been a partisan conflict in the ordinary sense, it has been the measured test of constitutional

authority, attended by many irritations and a lofty regard for duty. Since our party has been conspicuous in the defense of safeguarded America, let us rejoice as Republicans that we have played our big part in maintaining the soul of American nationality.

We want this great, strong republic to play a big nation's part in contributing and counseling and participating in the promotion and preservation of peace, and advancement of humanity and furthering of world civilization. But I like the old-fashioned Americanism which arrogates to ourselves the keeping of the American conscience in all our foreign relations, and prescribes our own duty to ourselves and the world.

WHY MEDDLE IN EUROPE

We love and commend justice everywhere on earth, but why meddle and mess things up in Europe, four thousand miles away, when there is plenty to attract our attention on our very own borders? Mexico affronts us, kidnaps our citizens and murders when we do not ransom, holds American property rights in contempt, and "watchful waiting" aggravates the trouble across the border and humbles our pride at home. I would rather make Mexico safe and set it aglow with the light of New-World righteousness than menace the health of the republic in Old-World contagion.

But I started to speak of party sponsorship and have drifted far afield. Government with party sponsorship brings us closer to the Constitution, and saves us the instability that characterizes personal government. Our weakness in the republic to-day lies in personal insistence over and above party conviction. No man

ought to be greater than his party. Let the individual make his party great, let him stamp his leadership on party progress, but the party must still remain the voice of the majority.

NEED JUDGMENT OF THE MANY

No man, no official, no authority ever lived who could not profit in council and advice. Men really worth while ever welcome it. We are a hundred millions, and the men with capacity and fitness for public service are not limited to the few who edge into the limelight in candidatorial array. We need the judgment of the thousands of representative men who think understandingly, and in the combined judgment of unselfishness we escape the dangers which come of political selfishness. I want the Republican platform to represent the convictions, the conscience, the aspirations of the thinking Republicans of America, let its utterances be the covenant of Republican faith and the chart for a Republican administration. Then we shall have no makeshift of expediency, no insincerity, no hopeless experiment, no false appeal for support. Above all else, let it be a covenant wrought in good conscience, and then pledge all who call themselves Republicans to its sincere support.

For such failure to meet the people's expectations as our party must answer to-day, I answer an insufficient party sponsorship. Nominally we control the Senate by two, but we number a few who profess Republican affiliation but hold themselves above party conviction. I cherish the hope of a cohesive and confident Republican majority in Congress, with a party,

committal, where majority rule abides, and then coordination and cooperation with Congress and the executive which shall translate party promises into recorded accomplishment.

HAS NO PERSONAL ENDS

I am not unmindful of current criticism that I have no specific platform. It is the truth. I have no personal ends to serve in platform making. It is an easy matter to say what I think the party ought to stand for, and I should like a part in uttering the judgment of the party.

We ought to resolve to cling everlastingly to American nationality and hold unabridged every inheritance of constitutional American liberty.

We ought to favor not only the perfected Americanization of the republic, but to hold it wholly and rejoicingly American hereafter. We ought to have it understood from this time on this is no mere collocation of peoples calling themselves Americans, but one people, with one spirit, one soul, one allegiance, one language and one flag.

We might well pledge ourselves never again to be so unmindful of our national defense. We ought to have an ample navy, as our first line of defense. We ought more than to keep apace—we ought to lead the world in the development of aviation and be stronger in the air than we are on the sea. We ought to have a stronger army than we have ever known in peace heretofore, and we ought to have all the young manhood of the republic know the benefits of discipline and physical betterment that come of military training, but it ought to

be voluntary, not compulsory; supported by the government in camp, in the national guard, in schools and colleges. It ought to be made so popular and so helpful that young America would seek it as a privilege rather than accept it as a duty of compulsory requirement.

SEEK STABLE WAYS OF PEACE

We ought to resolve to do every consistent thing to get away from abnormal conditions of war, and seek the stable ways of peace. We ought to declare for unshackling both of business and citizenship, and restore our boasted freedom under the Constitution. Every extraordinary war statute ought to be promptly repealed.

We ought to declare an end to bureaucracy, crowned with autocracy, all excessively commissioned, and turn again to government by law and free activities of a law-abiding people.

We ought to declare the Republican party unalterably opposed to government ownership and nationalization of industry or any other compromise with insistent socialism which proposes to fix our goal within the limits of mediocrity. We have seen the experiment made in the name of war, not for war efficiency or to meet a war emergency, but demanded in an hour of peril when our people were thinking only of dangers from without, and unheeding of menaces developing within. The failure has been convincing.

We ought to about face on war's extravagant expenditure, and get to thinking in millions again, instead of incomprehensible billions. War-time burdens in time of peace show scant consideration of uncomplaining

patriotism, and high cost of government is the first cause of the high cost of living about which we all so earnestly complain. We must become sane in expenditure to recover our poise, and government itself must be an example of economy to its citizenship and hark back to thrift as the security of good fortune.

FOR AMERICAN SQUARE DEAL

We must pause to reflect that the American square deal, which is the essence of all just government, must apply to all American citizenship alike and is the due of righteous business without which we do not prosper, is the right of the American farmer without whom we can not subsist, is our pledge to the American workman whose good fortune is essential to both tranquillity and continued advance. We must consult them all, and be dominated by none. I do not think a man's business success makes him ineligible to advise or participate in government. I do not believe the farmer's uncomplaining patriotism in war will be fittingly rewarded until he comes into closer and more influential council in seeking the highest good fortune of all the American people, and must himself fully share the fruits of our achievement.

For the American wage-earner the problem is more pressing, because there is the attempted development of class consciousness, which is always a peril to popular government. We ought to have no class antagonism in this republic, because the fundamental law contemplates every man precisely alike and grants equal rights to all. Special privilege belongs to no man, no body of men, whether their might is wealth or knowl-

edge or in weight of numbers. And influence isn't government, but a perversion of it.

The surest index to advancing civilization is the elevated scale of life and higher rewards of the men who toil. War has left new levels, and we shall never return to the old. It is just as certain as anything can be that a new proportion has come in the division of the profits of production, and labor's share will never grow less. I do not know that the war scale of wages will abide, but wages in themselves do not constitute the true measure of compensation. If wages are doubled and the cost of living is more than doubled, labor has lost rather than gained. The real test of compensation is what remains between the sale of a day's work and the cost in making it, which is the balance of trade underlying all acquirement.

DREAMER NEEDS AWAKENING

The dreamer who expects an old-time cost of living and present-day wages is in need of waking. But increased efficiency, added pride in production and earnest endeavor for a better order will contribute toward reduction, and still the restlessness with which the world is threatened.

The world needs production. It needs work, more work, and still more work. Production will stabilize the world's exchanges. Production will challenge the lie about freedom in seizure by force and government founded on physical might. Seizure is the destruction of civil liberty, and ends all justice and destroys old order.

America has no problem transcending in importance

the establishment of agencies to secure our industrial peace. No man can ever be made to work against his will in free America, and the student of modern developments in industry who thinks to destroy unionism and collective bargaining little understands the new order. Unionism has liberated, it must not enslave. Collective strength has wrought great progress, but it must not assume dictation. The thoughtful wage-earners of America would not have it so. They want a square deal, and it is their due. They ask justice, no one ought proffer less. But government fails if it does not find the agency for ministering that justice, and it must; and it fails worse if it does not prohibit the conspiracy which may halt any public service or in any way imperil the health and lives of the people through paralyzed production and transportation of life's necessities. The problem can not be ignored. It demands the conscience and the courage and the intelligence of parties and men and the government which they constitute. Let the square deal illumine the way—a square deal that gives a thought to all the people and the common good as well as those who dwell in class consciousness.

MUST REITERATE WHOLESOME POLICIES

The Republican party may reiterate a score of policies which have stood the test of developing years, and are still orthodox and wholesome. That is because they are convictions, not paramountings to meet momentary conditions.

Let some one jog a dependable memory and recall a paramount issue of the Democratic party that ever grew to the ripe age of ten years. It can't be done. I

did think anti-imperialism and anti-expansion of two decades ago were going to have a comeback, but Democracy forgot its apprehensions in its visions of Columbia presiding at the world's tea party, held in Geneva.

The menace of a treasury surplus (blessed memory!) and the crime of demonetization have gone jazing down the corridors of time, to give place to proposed government ownership in the heroic hour of its proven failure.

Republicans may renew every expression ever made relating to an American merchant marine, and events will approve and aspirations will acclaim. War found us almost helpless, because of our dependence on Europe for shipping, and the submarine threat to destroy all shipping. We turned to building in great haste and appalling extravagance.

We know now that we can not operate profitably under the inefficiency of government ownership and control. Any big and real development must come of the initiative and inspiration of private enterprise. I would sell the vessels, rapidly as we can find buyers, at what they are fairly worth, but buyers who are Americans and pledge American operation under the American flag.

I would not sacrifice the selling cost to cloak a gigantic subsidy. Suppose these ships have cost two and a half billions—it will be more—and suppose we sold at forty per cent. off, there would be a hidden subsidy of a billion dollars. That would be burdening excessively the people of to-day to pay for a development that must bless the next generation. No subsidy ever proposed exceeded eight millions a year.

BELIEVES IN GOVERNMENT AID

I believe in government aid, in subsidy or subvention. But I want it in the open, and on the square. We have the LaFollette seaman's act, providing working conditions—and attending wages—which no other seamen in all the world enjoy. Let us accept it as the conscience of America, and frankly admit that it handicaps American shipping in world competition. No use to dodge the issue. To deal fairly then we must extend a fostering government aid to make up the disadvantage. There isn't any sentiment in world competition. If we fix standards for Americans on the sea, it is our business to help maintain them.

A few years ago, the Senate Committee on Commerce was conferring with the distinguished Democrat who then headed the shipping board. The problem of maintaining our merchant ships on the Pacific was under consideration, and I asked this opponent of Republican policies what chance our ships had of outriding Oriental competition. "None in the world, without federal aid," he replied, "and in saying it I contradict all I have said in thirty years' opposition to any subsidy plan."

We may speak sincerely in favoring a reformed system of conducting the government's business affairs. Call it the budget system or call it applied common sense, we need the change which either contemplates. Perhaps we might call a budget commission the federal treasury guard, and it does need guarding, my countrymen. Everybody wants a pull at the seemingly inexhaustible abundance in Uncle Sam's strong box, and

the revelation of the possible returns from excess profits taxes and income surtaxes has excited genius to new ways of expenditure. We must call a halt. We prostitute with profligacy on the one hand and burden to paralysis on the other. The whole scheme of federal taxation and expenditure needs intelligent and businesslike revision, and waste must stop for decency's sake and extravagance must end for the country's sake.

OURS NOT UNGRATEFUL REPUBLIC

I have not thought to cover all the points in a Republican covenant for 1920. There will, of course, be a grateful and conscientious mindfulness for the veterans of the world war. Ours shall be no ungrateful republic. We shall go on, not alone promising the government's full part in the uplift of humanity at home, but perform in good conscience. We mean to progress and be progressive. Nobody thinks of reaction, but it is good to keep our feet on earth and cling to the wisdom of experience as well as quaff the cup of experiment. We have proven the capacity of the Republican party to restore, to preserve, to advance, to exalt. The country has turned to us before, and never appealed in vain. I know our answer in the contest before us will be a new reverence for the Constitution, a new consecration to one hundred per cent. Americanism, renewed assurance of American opportunity, renewed pledges of representative popular government, and guaranteed preservation of nationality, held secure under the supremacy of law and dependable American public opinion.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PROBLEMS OF BUSINESS

*Address before the Providence Chamber of Commerce
at Providence, Rhode Island, February 25, 1920*

NOTHING surpasses the romance in the evolution of American manufacturing. I am thinking of farm manufacturing as well as the shop. The farmer who turns soil and moisture and sunshine into food is no less a manufacturer than he who turns wool or cotton into fabrics or iron ore into a steel watch spring. And their interests are mutual, no matter how their methods may vary, and the good fortune of both is highly essential to the welfare of our common country.

Farm production and the manufacture of products by skilled artisans were relatively simple in earlier days. The age of machinery and quantity production wrought the transformation in both. It wrought complexity and inter-dependence, and inevitably government became involved.

EVOLUTION OF MODERN BUSINESS

There was an independence when the farmer spun his own cloth, and tanned his own hides, and made his own soap and packed his own meats, an independence no longer experienced except in communities far removed from trade.

There was a phase to the activities of the individual and self-reliant craftsman, with a soul in his work, which has been lost in the evolution. There are, of course, compensations for the losses involved, but the inspirations of fifty years ago might well be recalled. Some few years ago, in a far-off fishing village in Canada, I called on the boot-maker, who was the one conspicuous manufacturer of his community. The footwear of quantity production had not found favor in that primitive spot. He told me he made boots for customers thirty miles away, and I liked his boast that he "made the best boots in all Canada." He had pride in his workmanship.

I delight to recall the village days when the local blacksmith, often a philosopher and ever interesting as a gossip, turned out his own make of wagon or carriage, and the fame of his excellence was his chief compensation. We have lost much of that spirit in these modern days. Specialized skill of to-day undoubtedly surpasses all previous attainment, but the spirit of superior endeavor is lost to the mass of workmen in modern complexity.

It is not true that we have wholly sacrificed quality for quantity, but we have sacrificed much of pride in individual endeavor. One of the supreme compensations in life is pride in a thing done. We never shall know again the wide-spread individual pride in the work wrought, but we shall have a new spirit and more of contentment in America if somehow we can add the compensation of pride to the wage that is paid.

AMERICA GREATEST PRODUCER

It is gratifying to say American manufacture produces most largely in all the world. But we never shall know the supreme heights until we can boast truly that American manufacture is the best in the world. In many lines we do excel, and we rejoice thereat. But it is still a very common experience to ask for the best in shop or salesroom, and find ourselves pricing an imported product. I want to hail the day when any purchaser seeks the best he is sure to be offered an American product.

Not so very far from Providence, a few months ago, I visited a factory in a line of production in which my own state of Ohio is conspicuous, and in which line France and England are famous for their excellence. There was a most unusual spirit in this American plant, and I talked with workmen to get its meaning. "Oh, sir," said one employee, "this is a fine shop in which to work. We are resolved to surpass the world, and we are doing it." Later on I caught the reflex from the directing head. I had seen the wares and paid my tribute of admiration. When I remarked that we had seemingly larger plants in my own state, he said simply but with inspiring pride: "Oh, yes! Immensity is not our goal. I felt America ought to rival if not excel Old-World production, and we are proving it. That's our glory."

WORKMEN NOT MERE MACHINES

My point is that the workmen in that shop were not mere cogs in a great wheel of industry, but were living, vital, aspiring agencies in an American triumph, who shared the pride in the achievement wrought.

I have cited it before, but am tempted to repeat—in the very midst of appeals to our treasury for generous loans, one appealing nation in Europe was proposing to loan thirty millions to a South American state, with the avowed purpose of favoring the trade relations. I do not criticize the European state, I cite the instance to remind ourselves of the importance now and ever of thinking of America first.

I would like to drive home the truth of the larger sponsorship of the captain of industry of to-day for the weal or woe of every community. In the complexity of modern development we have the grouped activity, and the inter-dependence of the many in collective endeavor. In olden days a producer could stop without halting the great procession. Nowadays the paralysis of one group hinders the whole.

HUMANISM SHOULD BE DEVELOPED

Conditions have been evolved where the tendency is to get away from the human side, when it ought to be more intimately considered. That is why business has been brought into closer contact with government, though business itself has inherited a freedom from the very beginning of civilization.

Government has been called to halt monopoly, and strike at assumed privilege, and end exploitation. Some times it has gone too far in interference, but there had to be a commanding voice in opposition to greed and greed's unmindfulness. The disappointment has been in the tendency to punish the offending while seeking out those who really offended. And into the

well-meant effort to effect through government what individual conscience refused to do, has come the intrusion of socialist and revolutionist in government interference, until government itself has come to need reformation to rid it of reformers. The greatest menace in America to-day comes from those who have crept into service in the name of patriotism and seek in positions of authority to undermine the system which has made us what we are. I believe the republic is more endangered by the invasion of public service by the peaceful socialist than it is threatened by the radical who seeks destruction by force.

MANY COMMISSIONS USELESS

Countless inspections and endless reports, and expert interference are not so much designed to improve as they are calculated to destroy. It is my observation that a righteous law is more effective and far less costly than a score of commissions, and no factor in American life is so responsive to law's requirements as industry and commerce.

No one is so menacing to material success and its attending human progress as the fine theorist who never trimmed a lamp of experience. No man has a good right to criticize business until he knows something about it. No theorizing agent of government or progress is fitted to prescribed rules of manufacture until he has learned the ways of production from experience and trod the paths of pay rolls and paid other obligations. If government is to be insistent on directing business, it must have somebody connected with its activities who knows about business.

I do not mean that business should dominate government. No class, no group in the republic shall dominate the government. Nor need business expect special privilege. It deserves a square deal, no more, no less, and that is the inviolable right of everybody under the Constitution. But I know of no reason why business or manufacturing success should make a man ineligible to advise or to serve in a befitting government capacity. On the other hand, a success in one endeavor doesn't prove a man's infallible capacity. Many a dollar-a-year man came to government aid in patriotic fervor, and wasn't worth one-half his cost.

TOO MUCH REGULATION

We shackled, regulated, restrained, reprov'd and revised during the war, and it was accepted as a war necessity, but now we are at peace, actual peace if not formal peace, and it is time to unshackle. We need vastly more production than we do regulation, and we need the restored freedom of business and men.

There will be no return to pre-war conditions in industry or commerce. The world has been in upheaval. For us the rutted paths of trade have been wiped out and new avenues await. Old industrial proportions have been effaced, and capital and workmen are facing a new order. The larger wage will abide—it has been the legacy of war since our republic began. If there comes with the larger compensation to workmen not only restored but enhanced efficiency, it will mark a splendid advancement. Without the added efficiency it will prove a backward step.

MINIMIZED PRODUCTION DESTRUCTIVE

Minimized production is only a little less destructive than acquirement through force and seizure, and the heresy of life and ease, without work, challenges the very fundamentals of human life and achievement. Let Russia make her experiment in soviet democracy. The tragedy is deepened by the abridgement of liberty, and the end of security, but her masses are driven so hard and for such long hours that they haven't the time to realize it. Her great experiment has failed in every attempt in all recorded history, and will fail again, because it ignores the gift of genius, the might of industry and the power of thrift.

Meanwhile it is ours to cling to that which has made us what we are. We mean to preserve liberty, and liberty's highest gift is opportunity. Ours is equal opportunity to all men and reward according to merit. It is the underlying foundation of industrial America. Its inspiration led us in outstripping the world in industrial development and founded a commerce which America may becomingly boast.

I want the government to preserve it, and bid the sons of this republic to go on to achievement. Opportunity and protection in righteous acquirement was a covenant of the fathers, and I want the nation to preserve the contract made in the American beginning.

Keeping contracts is one of the higher functions of government and men. Kept contracts between nations would have made the world war impossible. Kept contracts ought to be the guaranty of industrial peace.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING FAVORED

I believe in the collective bargaining of workmen, so long as it does not deny any American the fulness of his freedom. But the bargain must be binding on all parties to the contract. In the evolution of industrial conditions that must be established. More, the government which thinks of America first will seek the establishment of some great and just tribunal at home which will end all conflict in production and distribution, which will make sure of full justice and make paralysis impossible, and that act alone will contribute more to world peace and world advancement than any dream of internationalism and attending American sponsorship for Old-World troubles.

INCREASED PRODUCTION NEEDED

Production is the call of the world to-day. It is the one, and only one agency, of world restoration. Out of production in the fields and farms, out of manufacture in the workshop, out of wealth in the mines must come the correction of empty purses and depleted treasuries of European peoples. It will be the supreme conflict of peace for the needed recovery, Self-preservation will impel. There is no need to restrict or destroy at home. We shall play the big American part by adding to our power and widening our influence and continuing our development, under the securities of representative popular government, and prove to the world that liberty lies in the supremacy of law, and orderly government is humanity's best inheritance.

CHAPTER XV

THE EXCESS PROFITS TAX

Address in the United States Senate, February 27, 1917

It has not been my thought at any time, Mr. President, to cry out against placing the just burdens of taxation on the wealth of the land. I do not know that wealth, corporate or individual, has been more clamorous in the cause of preparedness than any other element in our American life. I do not think it has more at stake. I do know from personal observation that those who represent both corporate and individual wealth are ever ready to bear their just burdens of taxation; and it goes without the saying that corporate wealth is the most available we have to reach in the normal processes of taxation, particularly by the state or local subdivision. Its tangible property is as readily reached as any other, and in the modern processes of reporting corporate possessions its tangible holdings are made more evident than that of any individual holder. So, then, in the normal processes of collecting taxes wealth encounters its just burdens under the ordinary procedure.

HEAVY TAX BURDEN NECESSARY

In recent years there has grown up a process of adding extra tax burdens, some of which I have no desire to complain against. I think most of them have

been accepted without complaint, and if it were necessary to provide for the national defense, or if it were necessary in a time of emergency to meet the vast extraordinary expenditures incident to war, I believe there would be no serious complaint at the most extraordinary proposal made in the pending bill.

But I am objecting to it, Mr. President, as I stated yesterday, first, because it is unnecessary; second, because it is class taxation, and very unfair and dangerous as well; and third, because it is utterly impracticable to make a just imposition and collection of the taxes.

WHAT CONSTITUTES REAL CAPITAL

For the moment, that section which has been passed over in the consideration of the Committee of the Whole I want to revert to. I refer to the conflict made manifest in our legislation regarding what constitutes the real capital of a corporation. Last September, when we passed a revenue act levying corporations throughout the land, we provided not only in the law, but in the administration of it, since, that a fair value of capital stock should be the value of the stock itself, and the surplus and undivided profits. The Internal Revenue Department, in securing the necessary statements for the levying of this tax, has passed a rule that certain intangibles shall be included in the assets of the corporations in order to fix the value on which it must pay this tax.

I alluded yesterday to the fact that the statement required of a corporation calls for monthly quotations

of the market value of the stock. I think it is manifest to such senators as are interested in the subject that one can not dependably fix the value of a stock by the market quotations. There are sometimes outside influences that give a momentary value to capital stock that is quite out of proportion to its real value. I need not enumerate the various influences which may bring about such a situation, and it would be very difficult for any government agency to undertake to assess or fix a valuation on the various stocks of the corporate organizations of this land by means of market quotations, and any process of valuation would be even more difficult.

Noting that perfectly impossible undertaking, I have wished to suggest to the sponsors for this bill that they provide an amendment and say if we are to have this eight per cent. tax on the profits in excess of eight per cent. on the capital stock, the amount of capital of the institution shall be accepted in accordance with the representation of its value made under the revenue act of last September. Surely the government does not expect one line of reporting putting a high valuation on the assets of a corporation for the purpose of collecting a tax on the stock issued, and then reverse its policy and put a low valuation on the capital stock in order to minimize the exemption from the excess profits tax.

I am repeating this point which I hope in some way unknown to me will reach the ears of the sponsors for this bill. It would be a fair and perfectly logical thing to do, and would eliminate from the proposed

law the uncertainties and the unending conflict of fixing a value upon which there shall be exemptions from the proposed tax.

LOOKING FORWARD TO PEACE

Mr. President, I do not mean to revert again to a thing that is so much in my mind, namely, the avoidance of a measure like this if the party to which I belong were able to write the revenue laws. I am very well aware that neither Congress nor the public is deeply interested just now in a tariff discussion. About the only thing that awakens our lively interest is something relating to the great world conflict which is now raging, and the possible involvement of our own nation. It is a rather prosy thing to discuss so selfish and materialistic a proposition as the industrial and business interests of our own country. But nevertheless, Mr. President, unless the world has gone hopelessly mad there must soon come an end to this conflict, and whatever may be the result in the adjustment of peace, there must come the after-conflict which grows out of the ambitions and rivalries of commercial and industrial nations.

Marked as must be the anxiety of the allied powers on whose commerce the submarine warfare is now being waged without mercy or consideration, anxious as must be the European nations which are involved in this unspeakable conflict, it is a fact nevertheless, Mr. President, that throughout the anxieties and trials there is being given serious thought to what must be the industrial and commercial aftermath.

I was very much interested to read, not very long

since, a statement by Lloyd George that no matter how enormous must be the figures which represent the cost of the conflict to Great Britain, the people of England were in a large part compensated by the industrial awakening which has come through the war, that they had scrapped their antiquated methods, they had instilled a new spirit and developed new strength in their industrial enterprises, and that they were better prepared on that account to enter the conflicts of the peace of the world which are to come, much better fitted to reestablish themselves than they were to hold their own before the war came.

BUSINESS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED

Only within a day or two I was very much interested to read that aside from the spiritual awakening of France and a rebirth of patriotism in that country, there was compensation in the war in that it had brought new application, new concern, and new development in the industrial resources of France, so that France, too, is looking forward hopefully to its part in the conflicts or the contests of peace which are to come after the war.

I need not speak of the policy of the industrial preparedness of the Imperial Government, or the land rather, of Germany. The wonderful development of Germany has made it the most formidable commercial rival of the United States that we had, and I think it is not unfair to say that the formidable character of the German development had its part in bringing about the war which is now waging.

These contemplations, Mr. President, lead me to

the point I am seeking to make, namely, that instead of penalizing organized efforts in the United States under corporate form, instead of levying an unjust burden on success in this country, it would be well for these United States even now, when the mind of the world is focused on war, to give a thought to the promotion of our own preparedness for the contests which are soon to follow.

It is not possible, of course, in a short session of Congress, and would not be possible in the long session with the present majority in control, to rewrite the tariff laws of this country. I shall not be greatly surprised, however, if in the providence of political majorities the dominant party continues in control, that its representatives may be forced to rewrite the tariff laws of the country. But I recognize the impossibility at this session of securing a revision. I regret that the party to which I belong can offer nothing constructive at this time as a substitute for the pending measure.

FOREIGN PRODUCER SHOULD ASSIST

But I have said the essential thing, Mr. President, that under the Republican policy of protection along lines of duties which existed under the last Republican protective measure we would be collecting on the present imports of the United States of America essentially a quarter of a billion dollars more than we collect under existing laws. In my judgment it would be a wise policy to put that burden of a quarter of a billion on the foreign producer who seeks the American market and take off, or rather hold from, the American producer the quarter of a billion that is

proposed to be put on him as a class tax under the enactment of this law.

Mr. President, I was very much interested when I first came to the Senate, some fifteen months ago, to hear the discussion which took place at the time relating to the extension of the so-called war emergency tax. I was very greatly impressed by a remark made by the junior senator from Alabama (Mr. Underwood), whom I esteem so highly that I do not quote him in any contentious mood.

I heard the senator say, Mr. President, last December, in defense of the tariff measure which bears his name, that we, meaning the Democratic party or the majority in Congress, had enacted a bit of legislation which has taken the burdens of taxation from the backs of the people who are less able to bear them, and have put those burdens on those who are best fitted to bear them. I assume that the latter statement makes reference to the income tax, with which, I may emphasize, I am finding no fault, Mr. President, but I do not accept the statement of the senator from Alabama that he took the burdens from those less able to bear them, because experience, which is proof beyond all dispute, shows that the burdens were not removed, and whether war be altogether to blame or not, there has been a constant increase in the cost of the necessities of life, not only during the pending war but for many months prior to its outbreak.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF NEEDED

I do not believe, Mr. President, that it is within the genius of any statesman who ever lived to reduce the

cost of living by any reduction of the tariff. You can never reduce the cost of living except as you reduce capacity to live. So, then, if I may bring myself back to the theme which I have in mind, I wish it were possible to turn from the policy of putting a perfectly needless and unjustifiable burden on the corporate and partnership industries of the country, and collect it, as we have from almost time immemorial under Republican policies, from those who enter into competition for our American prosperity.

However, Mr. President, that alone is not my point. There is pending in this body a measure known as the Webb Bill, recommended by the chief executive, designed to encourage the cooperation of the markets of the world. I will be very glad to vote for that measure myself. I can see the necessity for it. We have reached an age of big things in the world. We have gotten away from the time when the individual is the chief factor in our productive and commercial life. If you want to find the individual with a small undertaking, who is accomplishing even a little in the world, you must go to the very outskirts of civilization.

I remember last year, or the year before, I was traveling in northern Canada on a fishing trip, and away up on the outskirts of civilization I found an old-fashioned shoemaker who was taking orders and individual measurements and making boots and shoes after the method that prevailed in this country about forty years ago. That would not be possible in the state of Maryland or Pennsylvania or New Jersey. He had gotten away beyond the contacts of active civilization, and there the individual was still thriving with its lit-

tle industry; but in our greater American activities we have come to the age of great things, and these great accomplishments have been wrought by the association of capital and men.

I think, Mr. President, that that process, if we mean to hold America in its eminence, ought to be encouraged, and not penalized, as the pending bill proposes, and I can not understand why Congress will propose such a thing. If there were any avoidance of payment of the burdens which properly belong to these organizations, if they were a hurt or a hindrance to our American progress, instead of being a contributing agency, then such a course might well be justified; but these institutions are the things which make us what we are.

BUSINESS NEEDS ENCOURAGEMENT

There is not a community in the United States, Mr. President, to-day that would not hold a jollification meeting if some one were able to announce the coming of a new corporate organization that would establish an industry in that community. I have heard the lamentation in the city of Washington, this great capital, in the press and in certain circles, that one of the drawbacks to the capital city, and one of the difficulties in finding sufficient tax values to make the District's treasury show as it ought, lies in the fact that it has not any industrial institutions. I have never grieved at that myself. I have thought perhaps the capital city would answer the aspirations of the American people better if it were distinctly a capital city rather than a typical American industrial city.

The point I am trying to get at is that the Congress of the United States, instead of adding this excessive class burden, ought to reverse the policy absolutely, and seek to find means for the encouragement and the upholding of the arms of American industry at a time when we are soon to face the new competition of the world.

That is not alone, Mr. President, because we have held a distinctly peculiar position; it is more particularly because, through the fortunes of the world involvement and our being thus far able to hold ourselves aloof, we have accumulated the great bulk of the gold of the world; and the nation that is able to buy offers the inviting market. The contending nations of Europe, no matter what the terms of peace may be, must rehabilitate themselves, and they are going to seek this market, and the ingenuity and the methods long since proven and the desperation of the situation are going to give Europe a hold on American markets. I had rather vote for a revenue system, Mr. President, that will hold American markets for Americans, first, rather than add unfair burdens to those who are seeking to hold these markets with their own activities. Let us aim to hold them our very own rather than open them up to the assaults of the competition of the earth.

WASHINGTON'S ADVICE APPLICABLE

It is only a day or two since we were reading the farewell address of the father of our country. I wonder how many of you caught the significance of a phrase in that farewell address. I think it applies to the thing of which I am speaking. Washington said,

in substance: "Our people must ever be on guard against the misrepresentations which come of envy and jealousy, for these tend to render alien to one another those who ought to be bound in the ties of fraternity."

I wonder if he did not mean those who preached the gospel of envy and hate; those who appealed to class prejudice; those who make their appeals to the less successful, who are inevitably and ever will be in the majority. There is no help for that. I do not know whether you want to question the wisdom of God Almighty; I will not: but He did not create men with equal ability, and He did not endow men alike with enterprise and industry and thrift. There ever will be these differences, and I had rather do something to compose them, so far as I can, than to make an utterance or to vote for a class of legislation which tends to magnify those differences.

TAX IS PENALTY ON SUCCESS

Why object to the proposed tax? This eight per cent. tax on excess profits is a penalty on success, and I make bold to say, Mr. President, that eight per cent. profit on a man's investment is not sufficient if you expect to have any further American development. Mr. President, I am myself an advocate of a fairer division of the profits of production in these United States, and if I knew how to do it, I would be standing here now advocating some system which would result in a fairer division between capital and labor of the profits of their cooperation. That is an entirely different question, however, from a government penalty on success, and I make bold to say that if eight per cent. is to be

the limitation of profits for developing capital in this country, American development will soon come to a standstill. Eight per cent. money never lighted a furnace fire in these United States ; eight per cent. money never laid a rail or stretched a wire or opened a mine. Eight per cent. return is big for conservative capital which is in the greater abundance, but conservative capital is of the type that picks out a demonstrated possibility, and then invests in the thing that is already developed, sometimes adding to its increment through increased efficiency that may well be applied ; but American development has been wrought by capital which makes its venture in the hope of a larger earning than eight per cent.

Look at the banker. The average American banker is well satisfied with six per cent. on his capital and a guaranty against loss ; but, Senators, American development has its chance to take ; there is the adventure of business, and our remarkable development in the last sixty years, which is ten times that of any other nation on the face of the earth, is due to this spirit of gambling in the human being whereby a man is willing to take his capital and add to it his energies and his genius and his pluck and determination in the hope that the combination of these things will result in a profitable achievement. That is what has made us what we are.

CHAPTER XVI

AUTO-INTOXICATION

*Address before Baltimore Press Club at Baltimore,
Maryland, February 5, 1920*

THE doctors of medicine frequently diagnose a very common human ill as auto-intoxication. The symptoms are restlessness, irritability, often a disturbed circulation, sometimes a temperature, and always an incapacity to do things. Auto-intoxication is poison absorbed from within. Incorrect or excessive diet probably contributes, impaired elimination magnifies the ailment. Prognosis is not difficult. The trouble is seldom fatal, but it is distressing.

Sometimes I think our country has a bad case of auto-intoxication. Many people urge that our ills are largely traceable to the influence of the foreigner. The major troubles do not come from that source, and never will unless we attempt to digest supergovernment of the world, and there is no danger of that since the Senate has resumed its constitutional functions.

TOO MUCH HIGH LIVING

The poison which disturbs the nerves and makes restless and irritable the American body politic doesn't originate in the foreigner who has come among us, but you can trace that ailment to the American-born

revolutionist or the agitator cloaked in adopted citizenship who plays upon the credulity or the ignorance of his foreign victim.

Our auto-intoxication is due in the main to the high living and the excesses and abnormal indulgences incident to war, when there was little repose and impaired elimination. I do not know that I can prescribe the cure, but I know a way to remove the cause. Stop the excesses, omit the indigestible things, get to the healthful exercise of honest toil, give nature a change with pure air and physical activity and take a stimulant to aid elimination, along with a bit of practical mental science which all doctors agree is helpful in curing all bodily ills.

Break the shackles of war-time legislation for both business and citizens, because the war is actually ended, no matter how much delayed is the formal declaration of peace. Cut out the extravagance of government and individuals, give us the normal ways of government and of men, and the cure will be effected.

BACK TO THE CONSTITUTION

It will speed the restoration to get back to the Constitution, and stand on it immovably. This great fundamental law of the United States of America is unmatched in all constructive effort to establish popular government since the world began. It made us what we are. No one has proposed a substitute that has any guaranty of liberty. No one disputes that it and its guaranties apply to every man precisely alike, and every man in America who doesn't subscribe heartily

and loyally to the Constitution ought to go to Russia or some other land of tragic experiment. In the fullness of our liberty he has the freedom to choose, but if he stays to enjoy American advantages he must subscribe to the fundamental law on which our orderly government is founded.

No one proposes to modify our representative democracy. No pure democracy has survived since civilization dawned. Ours is representative, where dependable and intelligent public opinion is crystallized into law, and political parties are the agencies through which public opinion is expressed, and are the sponsors for the kept pledges of public utterance. Ours is a government by party, and he who advocates the abandonment of the system proposes a departure from the Constitution and invites the instability of personal government which has been destructive to every republic since popular government was first conceived.

PARTY GOVERNMENT NECESSARY

Those who complain at the inefficiency of party government are really criticizing the substitute which they propose, because every weakness of the present day is chargeable to the impaired party system. Partisanship can be put aside for a great national emergency, when the menace comes from without, as the great war has proven, but party sponsorship is the guaranty of accomplishment in meeting the problems of peace. In the things which were heralded as reforms, we have impaired party effectiveness, and Washington reveals it to-day as never before. Washington and Jefferson were believers in parties, so was

Hamilton the genius of the formative period. Lincoln was a partisan in the extreme, and it helped rather than hindered the mighty achievement which preserved union and nationality. Grover Cleveland was a staunch believer in party government and left the stamp of the greatest Democrat of his time on the progress of his day. McKinley was a notable advocate of party sponsorship, and wrought his great achievements through party councils and attending responsibility. Roosevelt was no less an advocate of party agency, and when he challenged the course of his party he led the organization of another, because party is essential to translate public opinion into the laws and policies of the republic. When failure attended, he instantly recommitted himself to the Republican party, resolved to cure its weaknesses, because there was no other course to the accomplishment he sought.

HEART OF AMERICA STILL SOUND

To alter our political system now, after the marvel of American achievement, would be the abandonment of that which made us what we are, and endangers the republic more than the threat of destruction by force. Of course, it will not succeed. The Constitution abides. The heart of the republic is right. Let the world reveal its restlessness, and experiment as it will. These United States will cling to the liberties which are magnified in restraint, and hold fast to the inheritance of the inspired fathers. Having wrought to the astonishment and admiration of the world and the matchless advancement of our own people in less than a century and a half, we will move confidently

on, unafraid, to a greater and more glorious fulfillment.

It is ours to excel our shipping of the early days of the republic. We ought to have possessed a merchant marine when war involved us. Ample shipping then would have shortened the conflict a year and saved millions of lives and billions in treasure. We must have a great merchant marine for the future. In war's anxiety and unavoidable extravagance we builded millions of tons of shipping. It isn't worth all it cost, but it is the greatest physical asset the war preparation has left us. We must make it the agency of greater commercial prestige, the prestige of a righteous commerce. We must take these ships out of the inefficiency of government ownership and let them become the instruments of widened American activities and influence in the hands of private enterprise.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OPPOSED

We may as well settle the issue of government ownership. It is poor compromise with paralyzing socialism, and America will not have it. We must not only have the initiative and efficiency of private operation, fittingly subject to governmental needs, but we need the inspiration as well, and government aid in the successful inauguration of the needed lines for trade. A government that has expended billions without heed for shipping need never hesitate a helping government hand in giving us a merchant marine which will be the highest agency of good fortune in peace and is a proven necessity amid the perils of war. Let our ship be the bearer of the American message of peace and amity to all the world.

CHAPTER XVII

BACK TO NORMAL

*Address before Home Market Club at Boston,
Massachusetts, May 14, 1920*

THERE isn't anything the matter with world civilization, except that humanity is viewing it through a vision impaired in a cataclysmal war. Poise has been disturbed and nerves have been racked, and fever has rendered men irrational; sometimes there have been draughts upon the dangerous cup of barbarity and men have wandered far from safe paths, but the human procession still marches in the right direction.

Here, in the United States, we feel the reflex, rather than the hurting wound, but we still think straight, and we mean to act straight, and mean to hold firmly to all that was ours when war involved us, and seek the higher attainments which are the only compensations that so supreme a tragedy may give mankind.

NORMAL CONDITIONS GREAT NEED

America's present need is not heroics, but healing; not nostrums but normalcy; not revolution, but restoration; not agitation, but adjustment; not surgery, but serenity; not the dramatic, but the dispassionate; not experiment, but equipoise; not submergence in internationality, but sustainment in triumphant nationality.

It is one thing to battle successfully against world domination by military autocracy, because the infinite God never intended such a program, but it is quite another thing to revise human nature and suspend the fundamental laws of life and all of life's acquirements.

FORMAL PEACE SOUGHT

The world called for peace, and has its precarious variety. America demands peace, formal as well as actual, and means to have it, regardless of political exigencies and campaign issues. If it must be a campaign issue, we shall have peace and discuss it afterward, because the actuality is imperative, and the theory is only illusive. Then we may set our own house in order. We challenged the proposal that an armed autocrat should dominate the world; it ill becomes us to assume that a rhetorical autocrat shall direct all humanity.

This republic has its ample tasks. If we put an end to false economics which lure humanity to utter chaos, ours will be the commanding example of world leadership to-day. If we can prove a representative popular government under which a citizenship seeks what it may do for the government rather than what the government may do for individuals, we shall do more to make democracy safe for the world than all armed conflict ever recorded. The world needs to be reminded that all human ills are not curable by legislation, and that quantity of statutory enactment and excess of government offer no substitute for quality of citizenship.

SHOULD SEEK UNDERSTANDING

The problems of maintained civilization are not to be solved by a transfer of responsibility from citizenship to government, and no eminent page in history was ever drafted by the standards of mediocrity. More, no government is worthy of the name which is directed by influence on the one hand, or moved by intimidation on the other.

Nothing is more vital to this republic to-day than clear and intelligent understanding. Men must understand one another, and government and men must understand each other. For emergence from the wreckage of war, for the clarification of fevered minds, we must all give and take, we must both sympathize and inspire, but must learn griefs and aspirations, we must seek the common grounds of mutuality.

WORK IS SOLUTION

There can be no disguising everlasting truths. Speak it plainly, no people ever recovered from the distressing waste of war except through work and denial. There is no other way. We shall make no recovery in seeking how little men can do, our restoration lies in doing the most which is reasonably possible for individuals to do. Under production and hateful profiteering are both morally criminal, and must be combated. America can not be content with minimums of production to-day, the crying need is maximums. If we may have maximums of production we shall have minimums of cost, and profiteering will be speeded to its deserved punishment. Money values

are not destroyed, they are temporarily distorted. War wasted hundreds of billions, and depleted world storehouses, and cultivated new demands, and it hardened selfishness and gave awakening touch to elemental greed. Humanity needs renewed consecrations to what we call fellow citizenship.

Out of the supreme tragedy must come a new order and a higher order, and I gladly acclaim it. But war has not abolished work, has not established the processes of seizure or the rule of physical might. Nor has it provided a governmental panacea for human ills, or the magic touch that makes failure a success. Indeed, it has revealed no new reward for idleness, no substitute for the sweat of a man's face in the contest for subsistence and acquirement.

SUPREMACY OF LAW

There is no new appraisal for the supremacy of law. That is a thing surpassing and eternal. A contempt for international law wrought the supreme tragedy, contempt for our national and state laws will rend the glory of the republic, and failure to abide the proven laws of to-day's civilization will lead to temporary chaos.

No one need doubt the ultimate result, because immutable laws have challenged the madness of all experiment. But we are living to-day, and it is ours to save ourselves from colossal blunder and its excessive penalty.

PRODUCTION IS GREAT NEED

My best judgment of America's needs is to steady down, to get squarely on our feet, to make sure of the right path. Let's get out of the fevered delirium of war, with the hallucination that all the money in the world is to be made in the madness of war and the wildness of its aftermath. Let us stop to consider that tranquillity at home is more precious than peace abroad, and that both our good fortune and our eminence are dependent on the normal forward stride of all the American people.

Nothing is so imperative to-day as efficient production and efficient transportation, to adjust the balances in our own transactions and to hold our place in the activities of the world. The relation of real values is little altered by the varying coins of exchange, and that American is blind to actualities who thinks we can add to cost of production without impairing our hold in world markets. Our part is more than to hold, we must add to what we have.

It is utter folly to talk about reducing the cost of living without restored and increased efficiency or production on the one hand and more prudent consumption on the other. No law will work the miracle. Only the American people themselves can solve the situation. There must be the conscience of capital in omitting profiteering, there must be the conscience of labor in efficiently producing, there must be a public conscience in restricting outlay and promoting thrift.

Sober capital must make appeal to intoxicated wealth, and thoughtful labor must appeal to the radical

who has no thought of the morrow, to effect the needed understanding. Exacted profits, because the golden stream is flooding, and pyramided wages to meet a mounting cost that must be halted, will speed us to disaster just as sure as the morrow comes, and we ought to think soberly and avoid it. We ought to dwell in the heights of good fortune for a generation to come, and I pray that we will, but we need a benediction of wholesome common sense to give us that assurance.

SOBER THINKING URGED

I pray for sober thinking in behalf of the future of America. No worth-while republic ever went the tragic way to destruction, which did not begin the downward course through luxury of life and extravagance of living. More, the simple living and thrifty people will be the first to recover from a war's waste and all its burdens, and our people ought to be the first recovered. Herein is greater opportunity than lies in alliance, compact or supergovernment. It is America's chance to lead in example and prove to the world the reign of reason in representative popular government where people think who assume to rule.

No overall fad will quicken our thoughtfulness, We might try repairs on the old clothes and simplicity for the new. I know the tendency to wish the thing denied, I know the human hunger for a new thrill, but denial enhances the ultimate satisfaction, and stabilizes our indulgence. A blasé people is the unhappiest in all the world.

It seems to me singularly appropriate to address this membership an additional word about production. I believe most cordially in the home market first for the American product. There is no other way to assure our prosperity. I rejoice in our normal capacity to consume our rational, healthful consumption.

SAVE AMERICA FIRST

We have protected our home market with war's barrage. But the barrage has lifted with the passing of the war. The American people will not heed to-day, because world competition is not yet restored, but the morrow will soon come when the world will seek our markets and our trade balances, and we must think of America first or surrender our eminence.

The thought is not selfish. We want to share with the world in seeking becoming restoration. But peoples will trade and seek wealth in their exchanges, and every conflict in the adjustment of peace was founded on the hope of promoting trade conditions. I heard expressed, before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, the aspirations of nationality and the hope of commerce to develop and expand aspiring peoples. Knowing that those two thoughts are inspiring all humanity, as they have since civilization began, I can only marvel at the American who consents to surrender either. There may be conscience, humanity and justice in both, and without them the glory of the republic is done. I want to go on, secure and unafraid, holding fast to the American inheritance and confident of the supreme American fulfillment.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

*Address in the United States Senate Friday,
January 28, 1916.*

MR. PRESIDENT—I have felt, naturally, the diffidence of a new member in undertaking to participate in the debate on the pending measure relating to the Philippine Islands. I have listened with that reverence which must come to one who is new in this chamber to the progress of the debate with rather conflicting emotions, until I have finally reached the conclusion that one from Ohio ought at least to give a reason for his vote, that one who comes from the state of him who led in placing our flag in the Philippines, and from the state of him who laid the foundation of our American civilization there, ought at least to voice his protest against the proposed bill.

We are not moved in Ohio by that fear of the greed of the East, as suggested by the senator from Arkansas, nor is the undercurrent of our dependable thought materially changed by the clamorous call for radical reformation. I think the current of thought in the great Middle West goes unerringly on, uninfluenced by either. Our judgment, as I have seen it attested in Ohio, is that the United States of America has no right and has no reason to extend a benevolent pro-

tectorate over the Philippine Islands without control, and I, for one, Mr. President and Senators, mean to vote against the pending bill.

There is a very familiar expression, Mr. President, originally uttered by a very distinguished member of this body long since gone. I think he was at the time troubled with the problem of the resumption of specie payments. In the course of his discussion of the problem in an administrative capacity, he uttered that famous dictum, "The way to resume is to resume"; and I want to say that the way to grant Philippine independence is to grant it. If I should use the language sometimes used on the streets, I would say the practical way to grant the Philippine Islands their independence is to let them work out their own destiny.

AMERICA HAS OBLIGATION

When the pending measure of the senator from Nebraska was first under discussion in the Senate, the debate took rather a curious turn. I was very much interested in the persistent use of the word "self-government." Well, Mr. President, self-government is one thing and popular self-government is quite another thing. If we mean to grant the Philippine Islands their independence, it is none of our business what kind of government they have. It may well be an autocracy; it may be a despotism; they may prefer a dictatorship; or they may, and most likely will, attempt a republic like that of China, which recently flashed a moment on the firmament of republics as a sort of triumph of rational over dollar diplomacy,

and then again faded from the firmament. What business is it of ours if the Filipino people have the inalienable right of independence what kind of government they may choose to have? We accepted the sponsorship; and if that is binding, we have no right to set them adrift. If it is not binding, the majority in this chamber ought to vote unanimously to set them adrift at the earliest possible day; and I warn you, Senators on the opposite side of the house, that you are breeding trouble for the United States of America every day you delay doing so under the promises of the Democratic party.

But, Mr. President, the question now on the amendment pending is not one on the character of government in the Philippine Islands; it is not what sort of a basic law or fundamental government we shall prescribe for them; it has come to be the great question of Philippine independence, and I am opposed to it, Mr. President, for two striking reasons. In the first place, the granting of Philippine independence changes the policy of the government of the United States of America from the very beginning. In the second place, it alters a policy of the United States of America for the last seventeen years, under which we have made the most magnificent contribution to the history of unselfish nationality or the unselfishness of nations that has ever been written.

NOT SEEKING TERRITORY

There is this to say of the United States of America: We are the first nation on the face of the earth that ever unsheathed the sword on behalf of suffering hu-

manity. We did that in Cuba in 1898. Perhaps some one will question the statement. I grant that Congress in making its declaration of war had more in mind an act of revenge for the destruction of the battleship *Maine*; but the great kindly soul that was at the head of this republic at that time put it on a higher plane. He disavowed any intention of the acquirement of territory, and literally went to war for humanity's sake. Then, out of the fortunes of that war, we acquired the Philippine Islands.

Whatever else may be said—and it has been wonderfully emphasized in this debate—our work in the Philippine Islands in education, in sanitation, in elevation and civilization, has been the most magnificent contribution of a nation's unselfishness ever recorded in the history of the world. If it be true that in seventeen years we have schooled the Filipino people until they are quite fit for self-government, then we have made more advance for that people in seventeen years than they acquired in three centuries under the Spanish occupation. But this splendid achievement, Mr. President, has been lost sight of in the debate in this chamber amid a lot of fine phrases about "inalienable right" and "God-given liberty" and "government without the consent of the governed" until I have come to the conclusion that the bronze statues of American Indians that make ornate some portions of this Capitol, would turn their stoical stares to sardonic smiles if they could only know,

NO OPPRESSION OF PHILIPPINES

Why, we have never heretofore been seriously concerned about the "consent of the governed." We have not been speaking of it in a century and a third of American progress. There has been much recalling of the spirit of the American founding fathers. Mr. President, the man who likens the Philippine situation to that of the American colonies can find no real analogy. Independence was not the inspiration of the War of the Revolution. Nationality was not the impelling force back of the War of the Revolution. It was the means of the preservation of independence when once we had achieved it. Note the difference, if you please. There is no ground for outcry about oppression in the Philippines. We were grieving against the mother country because of unjust taxation; we were grieving because of a denial of our participation in the commerce of the world. In the Philippine case, if the debates on this floor have stated the facts, we have not only kept aloof from unjust taxation, but we have been prodigal in the expenditure of federal funds in their behalf.

Mr. President, I somehow believe that the destiny of this New-World republic was written by an infinite hand in the consciousness of some divine purpose. I can explain to myself our phenomenal progress in no other way. I can not understand our very victory for independence itself unless some master hand was directing, yet we have lost sight of that important fact in much of the discussion on this floor.

M'KINLEY NOT SELFISH

Mr. President, the covenant of nationality led to the great Civil War. There is a strange significance to me in the fact that our sovereignty in the Philippines was instituted by that admirable, that kind, that loving, that sympathetic American who first revealed the reconsecration of the South to the concord of American union. It is significant because it affirms what I believe to be the course of our American destiny. Those of you who knew him, those of you who lived—as you all did—in his time, know that there was nothing selfish, there was nothing oppressive, there was nothing crushing about William McKinley, and no government under him and no government of ours devoted to his memory could have such an influence.

HONORABLE WITHDRAWAL IMPOSSIBLE

Mr. President, the debate on the Philippine bill has served to develop the infinite difficulty of making an honorable retirement. I think it is impossible for us honorably to withdraw. I think it is impossible, first, because of our obligations to the Filipino nation, so much interested in the last quarter of a century in uplift work, so deeply interested in the uplifting of a downtrodden people that our unfortunate Mexican policy of “watchful waiting” was founded on such a design. I should dislike to think that we are anxious to cast the Philippines adrift because of the mere fact, if you please, that they would endanger us or add to our responsibilities in time of war.

COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES SHOWN

In the next place, without going further into the discussion, I think we can not retire because of the obligations to ourselves and to the other nations of the earth. I do not wish to discuss, Mr. President, this question from what seems to be a selfish view-point, but one can not be in this chamber without catching the aspirations of the American people. I know what is in our hearts. It is in every official message; somehow or other it is the desire of every patriotic American. Here is a nation with limitless resources; here is a nation excelling in genius; here is a nation unmatched in industry; and everything that is proposed in this body is designed to aid and encourage the widening of American influence and make us a dominant commercial and industrial nation. Well, if that be true, I want to ask what field, other than South America, offers greater attractions than the Orient? And if we are to go into the Orient for an expansion of commerce and trade, I fancy that the possession of these rich islands, the Philippine Archipelago, will be very much to our advantage.

Mr. President, there is another phase of this subject which I desire to touch upon, and then I shall not detain the Senate longer. There is not only the view-point of our covenant to the world and to civilization, but at this particular moment this reversal of the American policy, to my mind, would be the most unfortunate thing that could happen to the United States of America. I do not want it said that this great nation, aspiring to a place in the councils of the world,

that this great nation, which to-day is the only one whose voice is heard above the din of conflict in a continental war, is so miserably afraid that it wants to cast aside some of its possessions to avoid some of the dangers of war. I had rather stand erect as an American and be unafraid, and particularly at this time when, in some way or other, most unfortunately, Americanism is very much derided in the Old World. Contempt is shown for it in Mexico; disregard is shown for American rights on the seas. Why not, Mr. President, reassert ourselves, not only confident in the possession of the territory which is righteously ours, but make it ornate with an assertion of Americanism that is befitting so great a nation.

Mr. President, I have been very much interested in another phase of this subject. Much has been said in the current debates relating to the dangers of colonial possessions. I venture to make reply that there is not an instance in history where a colonial possession proved unfortunate to the mother power, if I may call it so, where the national heart was right.

FILIPINOS NEED AMERICA

One more phase. I do not believe that it disparages the citizenship of the Philippine Islands to question their capacity for self-government. I am not always sure that we have that capacity ourselves in these boasted United States. But whether we have or not, the Filipino people have been accustomed to our spirit of civilization for only seventeen years. I grant that the islands have their college graduates; I grant that they have their brave men, their brilliant leaders; but

Manila is not the Philippine Islands. I grant, Mr. President, that there are 600,000 children in the schools of the islands, rollicking in a laughter that is the echo of our own in these United States, and walking in the light of opening opportunity. But 600,000 in the schools out of a population of 8,000,000 is a mighty poor guarantee of a dependable autonomy. Before we think of such a thing, let us not only have 600,000 children in the schools of the Philippine Islands, but, under American education and occupation, and sponsorship, let us have 2,000,000 Philippine children in the schools. Then the pathway will open for a higher civilization, and with it a devotion to the nation that led the way.

Mr. President, in the determination of this question of Philippine independence, we do one of two things: We determine to call in the outposts and narrow, if we can, the influences of American civilization to our own shores; or we determine to go courageously and unfalteringly on, spreading our boasted American civilization throughout the world.

I have sometimes wondered what the impelling influence has been. I know very well that a nation leading in civilization and in that uplifting work which contributes to the weal of humanity can no more limit its influence to its territorial or coast-bound sphere than can the man who stands high in his community, and has the character and the attributes that make him an influence in the activities of the world.

AMERICAN PROGRESS MUST CONTINUE

Mr. President, we have boasted heretofore that we have seemingly founded the ideal republic. I do not know whether we have or not. A century and a third is only a very little while in the history of the world! But we have seemingly founded the first dependable popular self-government on the face of the earth, because the fathers had the inspiration to write civil liberty into our organic law.

It seems to me, if it has been our privilege and our boast that we have established and developed the best popular government on the face of the earth, that we ought to go on with the same thought that impelled Him who brought a plan of salvation to the earth. Rather than confine it to the limitations of the Holy Land alone, He gathered His disciples about Him and said, "Go ye and preach the gospel to all the nations of the earth."

Let us stop and think before we alter the policy of these United States. Let us not think about the selfish side of commerce and industry alone. Let us ask ourselves if the time has not come when it is befitting to return a vigorous, persistent, conscience-founded determined Americanism; and clad in our convictions of conscientiousness and righteousness, let us go on, Mr. President and Senators, in our efforts to fulfill the destinies of what I believe to be the best republic on earth.

CHAPTER XIX

SOME SPECIFICATIONS

*Delivered before the Builders Exchange,
Cleveland, Ohio*

It is a very great pleasure to meet with the members of the Builders' Exchange. From experience of my own I know that trade and professional association brings together the best individual factors in the associated lines, and the association is helpful to every participant. The one who acknowledges no benefits in the exchange of ideas, and sees no strength in righteous cooperation, is too exalted to be of any earthly use, or too feeble to add an atom of strength to any undertaking.

It is especially pleasing to greet this body of live factors in the constructive world. I doff my hat to the men engaged in constructive pursuits. The world always has its tribute ready for the builders. There have been a hundred classifications of men. Some one with keen appreciation said, men are three—constructive, obstructive, destructive. There may be an obstructionist here to-day, but it is fair to assume this is a constructive company. You belong there literally, turning human energies to building, to the fashioning of material for the enhancement of the human habitations of the earth. It is the most important factor in

the human uplift, in which we Americans are distancing the world.

This is a wonderful land of ours. It is so vast, so rich, so inestimable in possibilities that there is no full understanding. We were blessed so generously by God's bounty that we were and are now prodigal in expenditure thereof, but there has come an awakening to needed conservation—a conservation of men and material. Without discussing, I venture to say that conservation is a problem for the builders. We should halt the procession, if we discouraged development, therefore conservation becomes a practical question to solve in the capable hands of builders.

AMERICA PRODIGAL GIFT OF CREATOR

A recent trip to the Pacific coast has magnified my belief that ours is a land physically incomparable, the prodigal gift of the Creator. With our mountains and plains, rivers and lakes, fertile valleys and golden stretches, north, south, east or west, it is a seemingly measureless expanse, unmatched. There are enchanting wonders in the mountainous West, where one breathes a new reverence for God and feels a new love of country. One seems to have gone beyond man's helplessness, where his handiwork is triviality. It is like a great throne of purple and gold, from which nature thundered its contempt for man's feebleness and reared its monuments in mountains as tributes to the Creator, wrote its acknowledgments in the canyons, attuned its praises to the music of rippling waters, then crowned it all with beauty indescribable. No tongue can portray the grandeur, and yet, after

all, in analytical reflection, the miracle is little more—nay, it is even less—than man has wrought in his genius and his strength, where he has builded of the materials left by creation into works and wonders and habitations and habiliments. San Francisco, builded anew from the ruins of earthquake and fire, is a greater marvel than the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, and the superb Panama-Pacific Exposition, which is a revelry of conceit and construction, is more fascinating than famed Yellowstone. One is nature's work in the whimsicalities of varied moods, the other is man's construction, directed by enlightenment, working to a fixed and exalted purpose.

What wonders have not the builders wrought? The vehicles of transportation, from a Ford to a *Vaterland*, are the moving tributes to constructive triumph. In the cities we pile the sky-scrapers high, teeming with living, building souls, and transport the millions safely beside or beneath them. We more than span the great rivers, we speed the quickened American procession by dashing through tunnels underneath their waters. Builders have wrought the incomprehensible marvels of electricity, until we make the mummy-makers of ancient civilization, though they builded the Pyramids, seem like imbeciles at gruesome play. This marvelous building age, confident of itself, bequeaths its living voice and its strains of music divine to the distant posterity we know not of, and we live amid the triumphs of American genius, constructing, which surpasses all previous human understanding.

MAKERS OF AMERICA

And the builders have done more than achieve mere material triumph. Just as the trade guilds contributed to Roman glory; just as the trade guilds of the Netherlands broke the Norman yoke and builded for Flemish liberty, so are the builders, broadening the term to its wider sense, the makers of the American nation. No reference to the builders is fittingly comprehensive which does not include the toilers, from the humblest burden-bearer to the most highly skilled mechanic. There can be no limitation of deference to the mind which conceives; there must be unstinted tribute to the master who executes, but there must be no denial of rightful dues to the man who drives a nail or spreads the mortar or rivets a bolt. There is glory enough for all.

This statement may be applied with added emphasis to the builders of the village, the city, the state and nation. A nation's laws are its specifications, and they ought to represent the best thought and highest intent of both architects and builders, but the test of a nation is its citizenship. We can not measure by a towering figure here and there, but judgment will rest on the great rank and file.

The fathers laid a foundation in the work for which they were seemingly inspired, yet theirs was a limited vision. There was no Cleveland in their vision, because they could not see beyond the ridges of the Alleghanies. But they builded in good courage, in high purpose and commanding honesty and Time and Patriotism have joined in development and expansion,

until to-day their temple is the marvel of nations. Contemplating this splendid temple of American national life, in the exaltation and exultation of participation in its making, what glory could be greater than the consciousness of a builder's part?

HONEST BUILDING ESSENTIAL

One hardly needs to advise a company of experienced and practical builders how to build for highest usefulness and endurance. You know that the great essentials are to plan intelligently and build honestly. The greatest menace in the busy activities of modern life lies in dodging the specifications. No one thing will contribute more to twentieth-century uplift and progress than the universal and unswerving fidelity to contract. In other words, builders of the edifice, weavers of the social woof, participants in the political performance must be abidingly honest. Keeping the faith, holding to the specifications, fulfilling the contract—these are essentials to universal confidence and unquestioned satisfaction.

Sometimes I think we Americans, as nation builders, get too careless of specifications. The fathers began the world-astounding temple of a representative government, with the guaranty of equal rights for all. A heroic genius of a later generation uttered their specifications in simple words which none can misconstrue—namely, "a government of the people, by the people, for the people." Such is still the thoughtful intent, but there oftentimes is a violation of specifications in the assumption of improving them. In other words, we weaken the structure whenever there

is taken away the constitutional safeguards which have guaranteed stability, and we ignore the plans when we seek to substitute pure Democracy for representative reason and deliberate righteousness.

I do not argue that we are building to universal approval, even among ourselves, much less among observers abroad. That would be the surpassing miracle. Never a creation that some one did not think he could improve; never a structure that some one would not change. One must not deny the growth of wisdom through experience, but only the builder comes to the full appreciation of the thing constructed. My thought is that we ought to go on building, along the lines on which we so notably, thus far, have triumphed.

CONSECRATION TO CIVIC DUTY

I can not and will not subscribe to the doctrine that all that is, is wrong, and all that is to be will be divine. We are a wonderful people, our weakness lies in not always holding high the individual standard of citizenship. If we build to endure, the citizenship must be right. It requires upkeep as well as uplift. It requires consecration to civic duty on the part of every man, not politicians alone; not place-hunters alone; not agitators alone, agitating for compensation; it requires the joint consecration of contractor and wage-earner, of directing brain and brawn and muscle.

I prefer optimists to pessimists, and like boosters better than knockers. And I like to differentiate between fair warning and righteous demand, on the one hand, and loud pessimism and hypercritical outcry on the other. Of course, we have evils to correct, always

will have. There will be weak places to cure, and we must do it, and such bodies as this ought to be the first to bend to the task. But let us keep our vision straight. A flimsy scaffold betokens no tottering wall.

Stamp out the impression that we are enslaved by commercialism or besmirched by corruption. Let us get back to the understanding that business is honest and honorable, and success is worth applauding. No nation ever has written a triumphant page in history which has not been eminent in commerce and industry. Our own astonishing progress as a nation is the reflex of industrial and commercial development, just as this great sixth city is a reflex of factories, offices and mercantile channels. Let us understand this fact and be for a square deal for the man who does big things, never forgetting that the humblest man must have his square deal, too, and the big man is biggest who best bestows the fair treatment which he rightfully expects for himself.

Insistent fairness and persistent honesty will make for harmony of effort toward continued and greater achievement. We must dissipate a lot of folderol. Perhaps there is big business and there are big contractors who are not always working to specifications. Then we ought all join to insist on fulfillment.

We are all builders, with the obligations of contractors to work to the specifications. Men like you are more responsible for the outcome than others of mere individual responsibility. It is your function to construct and preserve, and I am confident fidelity to specifications will guarantee a progress in which all will share and in which all may greatly rejoice.

CHAPTER XX

THE KNOX RESOLUTION

*Address in the United States Senate, May 11, 1920, on
Resolution to Declare State of War Ended*

I KNOW nothing in this republic so valuable in the promise of influence for a popular representative government as the proof of the capacity of Congress to function. Mr. President, we surrendered that capacity very largely during the war. I voted for that surrender. We were willing to give unlimited authority to the chief executive in time of anxiety and stress; but while we gave during the war, we are going to be just as insistent in refusing to give in time of peace. I think America's greatest contribution to the world lies in the fact that it has furnished the best example of representative popular government the world has ever seen, and I rather rejoice in the manifestation we made of the willingness of Congress to submerge itself in the hour of extreme anxiety. I am only sorry that the chief executive of this republic, because of Congress' willingness to surrender at that time, has gone on to assume continued powers for peace.

It is a very easy thing, Senators, to become intoxicated with power; aye, and it is a very easy thing to be carried away with a consuming ambition. I can

sympathize, to a reasonable degree, with the ambition of the president to write for himself the most eminent page in the history of the world. It would have been a very remarkable thing to have committed thirty nations of present-day civilization to a supergovernment of the world, and I can see how the historian was led far afield by a very natural ambition.

PRESIDENT WAS WARNED

But the president was warned when he went abroad. I found no fault with his going. He was not only warned before he went by a referendum to the American people on his own appeal in the elections of 1918, but he was specifically and formally warned by members of this body after he went abroad, when notice was given that the Senate of the United States of America had no thought to surrender American independence of action. But in spite of these things—warnings from the people on the one hand and warnings from the Senate on the other—the president insisted: "My will or none."

Senators on the other side of the chamber know just as well as I do that the league of nations would have been disposed of months ago, and this republic would have been enjoying formal peace, if it had not been for the insistent obstinacy of the chief executive of this republic. And so, Mr. President, I want to call attention to the fact, more for the *Record* than anything else, that in the passage of this joint resolution we are demonstrating to the people of the United States of America and giving notice to the world that the chief executive alone does not run the republic of

the United States of America ; that this is still a representative popular government under the Constitution ; that the Senate has equal and coordinate power with the president in the making of treaties, and that neither to-day nor to-morrow shall there ever be a chief executive of this republic who, in the lure of ambition or the intoxication of power, can barter away anything essential to the welfare of this republic.

CONGRESS STILL FUNCTIONS

This joint resolution will establish the fact, and that a Congress willing to submerge in war is once more functioning in peace. It will be the most wholesome message that can be sent to the world, and it will be the most reassuring message that can be given to the people of the United States of America.

I agree in one respect with the senator from New Mexico—I was one who believed in some new international relationship. I am sorry that we could not go into it on our own terms, as we ought, when the league covenant first came back. But we frittered away our day of opportunity to dictate the terms on which we might enter. It ought to have been done in the beginning.

Now we witness the world at peace, and here is the United States of America at formal war with Germany, and there is no necessity for it. There is no sense in it. It ought not to be for a single moment. We are literally at peace. Why not say so ; and if the president of the United States in his obstinacy refuses to say so, then let the Congress assert itself and say that war no longer abides.

CHAPTER XXI

THE PEACE TREATY

*Address in the United States Senate, November 18,
1919, When the Final Vote on the Peace
Treaty Was Taken*

MR. PRESIDENT, I have been content to allow the final disposition of the pending measure without any further remarks, but I could not well be content to permit the statement of the senator from Alabama (Mr. Underwood) to go unchallenged. I quite agree with him that no one can fool the country; and, in order that we may make the situation clear to the country to-night, when all of the United States is watching the action of this body no less intently than are those who honor us with their presence and when all the world is watching to see what this great republic will do, I am in favor of doing what may be expressed in a well-understood sporting term as "laying all the cards on the table, face up."

We have been witnesses, Senators, to many months of discussion and debate, and delay in dealing with this treaty; and it ill becomes any senator of the minority to say that there has been no opportunity for compromise or accommodation or adjustment. I was personally a witness to the long-drawn-out discussion of reservations in the Foreign Relations Committee when

we sought in a more intimate study of the treaty to accommodate our differences there, because there was not a member of the Senate and there was but one man in the United States of America who did not know that this treaty could never be ratified without reservations. With that perfectly plain understanding of the situation, the committee set itself to work out reservations which would safeguard the interests of the United States of America and make ratification possible.

RESERVATIONS ARE ESSENTIAL

I speak, Mr. President, for one who has maintained that position. I have not liked this treaty; I think, as originally negotiated, it is the colossal blunder of all time; but, recognizing the aspirations of our own people and the people of the world to do something toward international cooperation for the promotion and preservation of peace and a more intimate and better understanding between nations, I have wished to make it possible to accept this covenant. I could, however, no more vote to ratify this treaty without reservations which make sure America's independence of action, which make sure the preservation of American traditions, which make sure and certain our freedom in choosing our course of action, than I could participate in a knowing betrayal of this republic.

Mr. President, in letting the public understand let us review the situation. In the Senate there are four distinct schools of thought in dealing with this treaty: One is the unconditional-ratification school, those who, either through their own conscientious convictions or the lash of the executive—choose as you will—want

this treaty ratified without a single modification or reservation. That is group No. 1.

In direct opposition is the so-called irreconcilable group, those who are unalterably opposed to any ratification. That is group No. 2. The third is the group to which I choose to belong, if I may, who are agreed to bring about the ratification of this treaty if they are convinced that reservations have been adopted which are sufficient to safeguard the interests of the United States of America. There still remains another group—or, rather a group within a group—popularly known as the “mild reservationists”—those who are anxious to ratify, who are anxious to safeguard, the interests of this republic, but at the same time desire to make the reservations as little offensive as possible to those who assumed to negotiate the treaty in contempt of the Senate.

MAJORITY ABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT

We have had the four groups to deal with, and in the progress of the debate and after much discussion we have finally come to an understanding on this side alone—because on the other side there were those who took the position that there could be no reservations at all—and have accommodated our differences to the extent that the majority has agreed upon a program of reservations.

TREATY NEGOTIATED UPON MISUNDERSTANDING

That leads me, if you please, to indulge in a little reflection. The whole trouble with the treaty, Senators, is that it was negotiated upon a misunderstanding upon

the part of the executive. No one doubts for a moment that the president, in that disregard for the Senate which grew out of war conditions, in that little consideration for this body which followed a state of submergence, undertook to negotiate a treaty which was his towering ambition, notwithstanding he knew the opposition of a majority and in defiance of the expressed wish or the expressed opinion of a sufficient number to defeat ratification, under the executive impression that no modification or alteration could be effected except by a two-thirds majority vote of the Senate.

He himself not only so stated, but those who have been students of the whole negotiation and the aftermath have clearly seen that the executive proceeded on that theory. But it develops, Mr. President, that there is still a United States Senate and a majority, of course, in the Senate which is determined to reassert itself.

It was all right, Senators, to submerge ourselves as members of the government commissioned by the people, as we did submerge ourselves during the period of the war; I was a participant in the submerge, but when the war ended and the greatest document in importance ever negotiated in the world came to this body for consideration, then it was becoming, indeed, for the United States Senate again to assume its constitutional authority.

It is in that assumption of authority that senators on this side in the majority not all in accord, let it be said, but senators on this side in the majority—deter-

mined, with practical unanimity, that there could be no ratification without ample American reservations.

MINORITY DID NOT SEEK AGREEMENT

The members of the minority have known of the processes employed in framing the reservations. There have been weeks and months of opportunity to accommodate any differences and to meet us on common ground and negotiate acceptable reservations; but, in spite of that existent opportunity and in spite of the waste of time, when you on the other side have been clamoring about delay, never a single effort has been made until the majority has demonstrated its determination to submit reservations which must be accepted.

Now, you who talk about peace—through our attitude in dealing with the treaty, which dealing has little to do with the peace already established—you who are anxious to get this document out of the way, why not recognize a situation that can not possibly be changed?

AMERICA MUST BE PRESERVED

We are content to give you your league of nations, doubtful as we are about the wisdom of the great experiment. We recognize that we are not giving it to you in the fulness of the ambitions of the chief executive who negotiated it; we realize and regret that it must be reported to the nations of the world with something a very kin to humiliation. That is not the fault of the Senate; that is the fault of him who negotiated it without recognizing that there is a Senate. It is a

very great misfortune, and I am sorry about it; but I tell you, Senators, the independence of action and the preserved inheritance of this republic are infinitely more important than the wounded feelings of him who negotiated it without admitting the existence of the Senate. So we in the majority are agreed to preserve American freedom of action and enter upon a league of nations, a league with such reservations that leave us our choice of action, the exercise of American conscience, the determination to do that which we think is our part in the promotion and preservation of civilization and peace without the surrender of things essentially American.

If this ratification is made with the reservations which have been adopted, there remains the skeleton of a league on which the United States can, if it deems it prudent, proceed in deliberation and calm reflection toward the building of an international relationship which shall be effective in the future. The trouble with the whole league covenant is that it was hastily negotiated to be made the foundation of a treaty of peace, when there ought to have been a treaty of peace negotiated with a league of nations created in the deliberate aftermath.

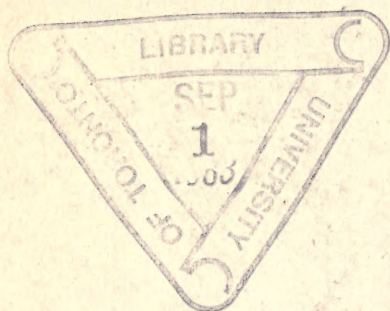
WELCOMES DECISION OF PEOPLE

Under these circumstances, recognizing conditions, without discussing the partisan phase of it or any political advantage, we have this arrangement, and we must meet it as it exists, and those on the majority side, those against it irreconcilably, and those for the league want these reservations to go to the nations of

the Old World to assert and make certain America's freedom of action in the future, and leave a semblance of a league on which to build.

If those on the other side of the chamber are agreed to accept such a thing as that, well and good. If you are determined that a minority of the Senate shall follow the same blind insistence that characterized the action of the executive in negotiating, I warn you now, you are certain to go to defeat; and if I can speak for one, in accepting the challenge of the senator from Alabama, I welcome the moment we can go to the people of the United States on the issue as to who is responsible therefor.

I know, Mr. President, that in this covenant, we have originally bartered American independence in order to create a league. We have traded away America's freedom of action in order to establish a super-government of the world, and it was never intended to be any less. I speak for one who is old-fashioned enough to believe that the government of the United States is good enough for me. In speaking my reverence for the government of the United States of America, I want the preservation of those coordinate branches of government which were conceived and instituted by the fathers; and if there is nothing else significant in the action of this day, you can tell to the people of the United States of America and to the world that the Senate of the United States has once more reasserted its authority, and representative government abides.



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